DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 063 055 RC 006 118

AUTHOR	Miller, Paul F.
TITLE	To House the Migrant.
SPONS AGENCY	State Univ. of New York, Genesco. Center for Migrant Studies.
PUB DATE	72
NOTE	105p.
AVAILABLE FROM	New York State Migrant Center, State University College of Arts and Science, Geneseo, New York 14454 ($1.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	Health Facilities; Job Training; *Labor Camps; Labor Force; Labor Supply; Labor Turnover; Low Rent Housing; *Migrant Health Services; *Migrant Housing; Migrant Welfare Services; Migrant Workers; Occupational Mobility; Occupational Surveys; Planned Community; *Program Development; State Programs; *State Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	New York State

ABSTRACT

Commissioned by the New York State Center for Migrant Studies to develop a report on improvement in the living environment of migrant workers during their sojourn within New York State, the author draws his conclusions from such information sources as interviews with migrants, growers, and state and national officials; personal labor camp visits; and printed materials. Although the author's expertise is mainly in the field of housing, this final report was critiqued by individuals knowledgeable about New York's migrants and their problems. Since it is concluded that "the best way to improve the environment for the migrant is for the migrant to drop out of the migratory stream," development of a New York State alternate agricultural labor force is suggested. Also recommended is the establishment of a Rural Development Corporation (as a corollary to the existing State Urban Development Corporation) to provide growers, migrants, nonprofit groups, and local governments technical and financial assistance for rural needs in the areas of environmental improvement and low-income housing (including migrant housing). Among the 8 major recommendations, it is further noted that greater emphasis should be placed on job training programs both in New York State and in the migrant home areas to aid transition from migrancy to a sedentary life-style. Included in the report in addition to discussions of the problem, the forces of change, and a program of housing are findings and recommendations, 10 references, a 57-item bibliography, an appendix interpreting a special 1968 survey of farm camps, 6 tables, 3 maps, and 2 graphs. (MJB)

ED 063055

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TO HOUSE THE MIGRANT

by

Paul F. Miller

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NEW YORK STATE CENTER FOR MIGRANT STUDIES

Spring 1972

RC006118

State University College of Arts and Science
Geneseo, New York
14454

NEW YORK STATE CENTER FOR MIGRANT STUDIES

The New York State Center for Migrant Studies is an independent organization devoted to professional research in the areas of education, employment, community relations and other aspects of the conditions of migrant labor in the State of New York.

The principal purposes are to initiate studies relevant to understanding and improving the conditions of the migrant, and to publish and disseminate these studies. The New York State Center for Migrant Studies, co-sponsored by the New York State Education Department's Bureau of Migrant Education, John Dunn, Chief, and the State University College of Arts and Science at Geneseo, New York, Robert W. MacVittie, President, was founded in February 1968.

The study has been recommended for publication by the Publications Committee of the Executive Council of the Center as an important contribution to the understanding of the migrant problem. It has been approved by the Executive Council of the Advisory Board of the Center except as specifically indicated and supercedes all previous drafts released for private circulation prior to publication. However, the interpretations and conclusions of the study are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position of the Center.

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ABSTRACT OF STUDY

Purpose

To recommend improvements to the housing - environmental circumstances of the interstate agricultural migrant. The implementation of purpose in the report includes analysis of the existing circumstance, agricultural dynamics within New York State, financing problem, the ownership, maintenance and administration of migrant housing, the variant approaches used to supply migrant housing in other states, an investigation of the impact of changing State and Federal laws on the migrant housing circumstance, a review of new housing technology and its relevance to migrant housing.

The purpose, therefore, has been broadly construed in the direction of attempting recommendations for major improvement in the living environment of migrants during their sojourn within New York State.

Sample

Since the study director is not an expert in migrant culture or the migrant economy, maximum emphasis was placed upon the experience and opinion of others who are. Supplementally, the study director interviewed migrants, growers, State officials and also visited several labor camps. Relatively thorough research was done into printed materials dealing directly with migrant housing and generally with the migrant culture-economy. By phone, letter, and travel, the study director developed an acquaintance with migrant housing problems and programs in several states.

Procedure

Initially, the study director developed a working acquaintance with the problems, especially housing, of New York State migrants. Secondly, a ten page statement of preliminary recommendations was then prepared and reviewed by several individuals familiar with the State migrant culture. Thirdly, the body of the report itself was developed and edited through three editions. Changes in the drafts were based upon comments from several individuals, including Mr. Bright of the Center for Migrant Studies.

Upon the completion of the final draft, five persons were asked to review the report and to give verbal and written

reactions. These readers reported to the study director and were in addition to the readers utilized by the Center for Migrant Studies.

Conclusions - Recommendations

The study director arrived at the conclusion that the best way to improve the environment for the migrant is for the migrant to drop out of the migratory stream. The development of an alternate labor force for New York State agriculture is suggested in the report.

Despite the serious urgency of the migrant housing problem in New York State, the continuing accumulation of ex-migrants within New York State presents a problem of far greater magnitude. However, the report is primarily directed to the housing circumstances of the persons still actively involved in the migrant stream. Eight major recommendations are proposed in the study, each of which can be viewed independently of the other. However, a general approach is suggested in the recommendation that the State of New York create a Rural Development Corporation (as a corollary to the existing State Urban Development Corporation). This broad based Rural Development Corporation would provide growers, migrants, non-profit groups and local governments technical and financial assistance for the multiplicity of needs that rural areas experience in the way of environmental improvement, and for low-income housing, including housing for the migrants.

It is imperative that migrants be assisted in much greater measure through job training programs both in New York State and in the home area of the migrant to facilitate a more successful transition from migrancy to a sedentary style. The needs, of course, go beyond job training and the needs justify an expansion of all those training programs to allow a person to better realize his expectations and potentials.

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PREFACE

At the end of 1968, I was commissioned by the New York State Center for Migrant Studies to develop a report on the problem of housing migratory farm workers within New York State. The assignment has been an education for me in that I have had to inform myself of many aspects of migratory farm labor. What I brought to this study was a knowledge of housing, not a knowledge of the migrant stream or of the migrants themselves.

I am thankful to the many individuals to whom I have spoken over the past many months, who have helped to enlighten me. I was not an expert on the migrants when I began this study, nor am I now. However, my task was to become educated concerning the migrant in terms of his purpose, his work, his life and his relationship to New York State agriculture, to the extent that I could apply my housing experience, with resultant observations and recommendations that are, hopefully, of some value.

A wide range of information sources was used in shaping the information presented in this report. Publications of all kinds were searched, including books, pamphlets, magazines and newspaper articles from both public and private agencies and individuals. Over the course of many months, numerous individuals, both private persons and local State and National officials, were contacted, in meetings, by phone and in person. The basic printed materials germane to the conduct of this study appear in the Bibliography. The long list of persons contacted does not appear, but I would like to thank them, one and all.

In the past, I have had some specific and varied contact with the American agricultural migrant. For six weeks in the summer of 1948, I was an interstate agricultural migrant in the grain sorghum harvest of the Coastal Bend of South Texas. During that period I lived on a farm and worked in an area in which Mexican Americans were doing "stoop labor" in the cotton fields.

In the summer of 1949, I was an intrastate agricultural worker in northern Illinois. Part of the time I detassled hybrid corn; the balance of the time I worked in a corn cannery. I shall never forget the whistle of the roving field boss. If he whistled you back, you had to re-check your quarter or half mile rows to make sure you did the right job. During the course of the summer, I lived in workers' barracks, a tent, jail (voluntarily), and a rooming house. I worked with Mexican Americans, residents of Chicago's skidrow, Appalachian Whites, miscellaneous local inhabitants, and a few students.

As Executive Director of Lancaster, Pennsylvania Redevelopment Authority for four years, I became familiar with the large and growing number of Puerto Rican "staygrants" who took up permanent abode within urban renewal project areas, prior to redevelopment. Starting in the early 1950's, Puerto Ricans working in Lancaster County agriculture began to drop out of the migrant stream and concentrated in the blighted residential sections of the City of Lancaster to such an extent that they now, reportedly, represent roughly six per cent of the City's population, somewhat larger than the black population.

Because of the uniqueness of the new Puerto Rican population, I directed my staff to conduct and publish a study of the Puerto Rican "staygrant" population.

The above paragraphs can suggest nothing more, really, than a fairly specific and generally random knowledge of the agricultural migrant; but it has allowed this author some personal experience, some measure of understanding, beyond that which he could only get from the verbal and written experiences of other persons, organizations and governmental agencies.

Interviews were had with individuals who have visited hundreds of labor camps and who have interviewed hundreds of individual migrants, but I have not attempted to duplicate the years of experience these individuals have invested in such first-hand observation. Although I have visited several camps and have interviewed several migrants and growers, I have relied upon the knowledge of many others in order to gain a general understanding of circumstances adequate to the task of applying a knowledge of housing to the recommendations for the future of migrant housing within the State. I have had to familiarize myself with the migrant economy and the migrants in general, in order to place the aspect of housing in proper perspective. But, the perspective of housing is the specific assignment I was given, and although I recognize that housing is but one segment of the total life of the migrant, housing cannot be viewed in isolation from all the other general and specific elements of the migratory life.

I recognize fully both the complexities of the migrant stream and the difficulty in projecting future trends, but during the process of preparing this report, I have arrived at the tentative conclusion that the best way to improve the environment for the migrant is for the migrant to drop out of the migrant stream. The mobility of the migrant makes him virtually a second-class citizen wherever he and his family happen to be. The migratory life is simply not conducive to the achievement of a much improved environment of health, housing and education for the transients' children. Further, I believe it would be best, especially in the case of the Southern Black, if only the male workers followed the migrant stream, and the families stayed year around at a permanent residence. Such a pattern is already largely true of Puerto Rican migrants. In terms of the small, but growing, number of Mexican-Americans in the New York State migrant stream, it is more difficult to suggest that the children not be included, because of the strong tradition of family exhibited by Mexican-Americans in general and Mexican-American migrants in particular.

I know that there is a continuing need for migratory labor in New York State, but I would hope that, although difficult to achieve, the great majority of the necessary hand labor will be comprised of contract male crews, intrastate and local crews and individuals. Although the task is difficult, the total number of seasonal agricultural workers needed, at least for the next several years, is only 15,000 to 25,000.

Finally, I must thank the many individuals who so graciously gave me assistance. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Gloria Mattera, Mr. William Bright, Dr. James Schnur and Fr. Timothy Weider of the Center for Migrant Studies.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

1. Agricultural migrancy as a National phenomenon is undergoing change. The factors underlying this change are as diverse as they are effective.

2. Governmental statistics attest to those conditions of migrant health, housing, income and education that place him at or near the bottom of the barrel of American Society.

3. And he does have rising expectations. He has always been concerned about wages. He is concerned about his family. He is increasingly aware of the conditions of employment, including housing, education and medical care. That he is concerned is attested to by the inestimable, but significant, rate of "drop out" from the migrant stream. We are aware of the drop outs in New York State, but we should also be aware of the past, present and potential rate of drop out in his "home area" of the southeastern states.

4. To compete for the best migrant crews and in order to respond to the growing demands of the migrants, many growers are constantly improving conditions of employment, including housing and the general camp environment.

5. This report holds that variant interests can be made compatible in shaping a more tolerable and productive life for the seasonal agricultural migrant during his sojourn in New York State.

6. This report holds that solutions to the life problems of the migrant must be legislatively and administratively structured to be broad enough in scope to include the elements of housing, health and education relative to all of those persons within rural and small town areas of New York State who experience deprivation below the standards that reasonable men and a responsible society will allow.

7. Relatively unknown is the fact that two-thirds of our Nation's bad housing in outside the urban areas.

8. For both legal and illegal reasons, knowledgeable persons report that a substantial number, difficult to ascertain, of migratory farm workers are not included within the official statistics published periodically by governmental agencies.

9. The bias of this report is that increased attention should be given by the State of New York to the formation and reformation of programs to improve the migrant living environment.

The attitude of this report is that observations and recommendations contained herein should be tested in greater depth, in order to ascertain the potential of giving certain recommendations implementation in fact, not just in word.

CHAPTER 1 - WHO ARE THE MIGRANTS?

1. The migrant stream across the country is made up of diverse elements. Some are American Blacks, some are Puerto Rican, Indian, Mexican-American, Canadian, Jamaican, Bahamian, White American.
2. As people, the migrants are poorer, in poorer health and more poorly educated than Americans in general. In 1967 the migrant averaged an annual income of $922 for an average of 85 days of work. Federal health programs spent $200 per American in 1967, versus $12 for the migrant. The migrant had an average of 8.6 years in school, and over 17 per cent were functionally illiterate. The best seasonal farm workers, of course, do much better in income, and some families show great care in the education of their children.
3. As economic opportunity and education improves in the Southern fringe of our country, it is likely that a diminishing supply of migratory, seasonal farm labor will progressively occur.

CHAPTER 2 - MIGRANTS IN THE NATION

1. Between 1949 and 1967 an annual average of approximately 3,500,000 persons worked for wages in American agriculture, of whom 400,000 were migratory workers.
2. A large proportion of the non-migratory labor exists in environmental conditions as difficult, or almost so, as the conditions experienced by most migratory farm labor.
3. Major causes of the decrease in the total of hired farm workers are the rapid elimination of sub-marginal and marginal farms nationally, and the increasing tempo of mechanization of the larger, viable family and commercial farm operations.
4. Another factor of greater significance in the reduction of the migratory farm worker is the quid pro quo of a reduction of demand because of mechanization and a reduction in the supply because of the growth of job alternatives to migrants in both the North and South.

5. Texas, the major source of migrants, and California generate migrant streams that are primarily Mexican-American (Chicanos) in makeup. The eastern stream is made up of Blacks from Florida (primarily Black and primarily from Florida) and Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican stream is divided, with some following the land route via Florida; others travel directly to New York.

CHAPTER 3 - MIGRANTS IN NEW YORK STATE

1. Foreign and intrastate workers make up a relatively small proportion of the total of agricultural farm workers in New York State.

2. Significant for the future of a reliable supply of labor for New York State agriculture has been the relative stability of local workers. Roughly 10,000 local workers each year perform seasonal agricultural work within the State.

3. Although no data exists on the annual percentage of drop-out from the New York State migrant work force, there are thousands of migrants who are now permanent residents within the State, and this small, but growing body of permanent New York State residents should be increasingly relied upon as a skilled source of farm labor, and a source that totally, or for the most part, would not require seasonal housing.

4. There are four basic sources of seasonal farm labor; Interstate, Intrastate, Foreign and Local.

5. Puerto Rican labor is contracted for by growers and processors by the Puerto Rican government on an annual contract basis.

6. A small, but growing, number of Mexican-Americans are appearing in seasonal farm work in New York State.

7. If the reduction in the supply of migrants in the Atlantic Stream is greater than the diminishing demand, it is possible that Mexican-Americans will play a larger role in the seasonal farm work to be done in New York State.

8. The foreign source of farm labor is virtually all from the British West Indies.

9. The increasing "staygrant" population is being, and to an increasing extent should be, developed as a "day haul" source of local farm labor.

   The significance of local labor to this report is that there is an inverse relationship between the use of local labor in New York State agriculture, and the need for farm labor housing.

10. Although the State Farm Employment Service reports that approximately 40 New York State counties are worked in annually by seasonal farm labor, 27 counties had 100 or more seasonal farm workers in the 1967-68 season.

CHAPTER 4 - THE HOUSING CIRCUMSTANCE

1. Traditionally, the migrant has been housed primarily in housing built, owned and financed by the grower or the processor.
2. Some large camps have been created by growers on an association or cooperative basis.
3. Some interviewed migrants are critical of the idea of large camps because they fear that large camps can constitute impersonal ghettos.
4. Other migrants provide their own quarters in the form of house trailers, tents, or even their own cars.
5. Other migrants, who do not bring along their own housing, simply search out places to stay, including second-rate motels, shacks, the open ground, or whatever other facility they can find for free or for a minimal rent.
6. Migrants operating outside of crews and crew leaders exhibit the highest rate of mobility, since they search out the most remunerative piece-work opportunities in any given area of their brief stay.
7. Non-Profit organizations have provided some housing nationally, and these facilities function as camps centralized in the area of crop production.
8. New York State migrant housing is more expensive, not only because of prevailing economic differences between New York and many Southern areas, but also because of climatic differences and because State housing regulations are stricter than in at least some of the Southern states.
9. Public housing is an appropriate housing technique for migrants in South Texas and California, especially in California where such a high proportion of the seasonal farm work is conducted on an intrastate basis, rather than interstate, as in New York.
10. In 1967 New York State listed a total reported camp capacity of 24,724. But, since on the average, this capacity is only about two-thirds used, the total population in the camps at any given time would be 15,000 to 16,000.

    The number of farm labor camps has been decreasing for several years and this trend is expected to continue.

Some labor camps are inoperative because they are not in compliance with State requirements; others are unused or under-used because the farm or farms they serve have been mechanized.

11. There is clear evidence of rapid deterioration in some camps because of the rough use of the buildings and grounds by the inhabitants.

CHAPTER 5 - MECHANIZATION

1. The increasing use of new and improved equipment in American agriculture results in a lesser reliance on labor, especially the stoop labor so commonly associated in labor - intensive agriculture.
2. In order to maximize the efficient use of machinery and equipment, larger and financially stronger farm operations have been getting larger at the expense of the smaller and more marginal farm operations.
3. Mechanization, therefore, is reducing the total requirements for hand labor, whether it be local labor or migratory labor in New York agriculture, but mechanization also is causing an increased need for the more skillful and the better trained migrant.

CHAPTER 6 - AVAILABILITY OF WORKERS

1. The decreasing supply of migratory labor to the State of New York is not due primarily to mechanization of agriculture in the State. The diminishing supply of Southern migratory labor, rather, appears to result from broad and continuing changes in opportunities which individuals and families are experiencing within the South.

CHAPTER 7 - OTHER TRENDS

1. The State Employment Service (1968 Annual Report) states that the number of farms declined from 136,000 in 1950 to 61,000 in 1968, a decrease of 55 per cent. Also, "during the same period, the land in farms declined from 17,000,000 acres in 1950 to 12,100,000 in 1968, and the average size farm increased from 125 acres in 1950 to 198 in 1968."

2. Potatoes and apples are by far the most important New York State crops in terms of the quantitative use of migrants.

3. Despite the decline in the number of farms and in agricultural acreage, the quantity of production and the value of production of agricultural commodities in New York State have increased.

4. The impact of new wage laws, then, strengthens the supply of migrant labor to New York, especially to those growers who are larger, more efficient and, hence, more capable of overcoming increased competition from production in other states.

CHAPTER 8 - HOW DO WE SOLVE THE PROBLEM?

1. Programs must be further developed, or established, to more adequately house all the migrants in the State of New York. Further, this concept should be extended to include "staygrant" housing, since "staygrants" represent an existing and potentially greater pool of skilled farm labor. Such a program must be envisioned as state-wide in scope and of broad enough purpose to assist the non-profit provider of housing, as well as the grower and the processor.

2. The grower experiences substantial cost, time and frustration as he deals with governmental agencies in an attempt to secure loans for the creation of the improvement of farm camp housing.

3. FmHA then, must be viewed as a major source of assistance in the creation of migrant housing, the potential of which must be greatly increased if greater progress is to be made in improving the State's rural housing in general, and migrant housing in particular.

4. The greatest measure of utilization of the FmHA program within New York State will only result if experienced and trained personnel, as part of a state-wide administrative structure, takes advantage of the programs for the benefit of the grower, the processor, non-profit and governmental agencies.

5. Although many programs of housing alleviation exist, their comprehensive effect is limited, and this is attested to by the grower's difficulty in financing his housing, and by the continuation of conditions of housing and life for the migrants that change too slowly.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. THE STATE OF NEW YORK, THROUGH APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION, SHOULD CREATE A RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

2. A LONG-TERM, ORGANIZED EFFORT SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN TO DEVELOP NON-MIGRATORY SOURCES OF FARM LABOR.

3. AN EXISTING STATE AGENCY OR A RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION SHOULD PROVIDE LONG-TERM, LOW INTEREST LOANS TO GROWERS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF HOUSING AND RELATED CAMP FACILITIES.

4. A STATE AGENCY OR A STATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION SHOULD GIVE TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING HOUSING FOR SEASONAL FARM LABOR.

5. AN EXISTING STATE AGENCY OR A STATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION SHOULD OWN TRANSPORTABLE MIGRANT HOUSING UNITS THAT WOULD BE LEASED TO GROWERS ON AN ANNUAL BASIS IN A NUMBER, KIND AND LOCATION AS REQUIRED BY THE GROWER.

6. A STATE AGENCY SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE TO INTERESTED GROWERS FOR THE USE OF MIGRANT HOUSING AND CAMPS FOR NON-SEASONAL LABOR USE DURING THAT PART OF THE YEAR AND FOR THOSE YEARS WHEN THE HOUSING AND THE CAMPS ARE NOT FULLY NEEDED BY THE GROWER TO HOUSE MIGRANTS.

7. SOME SMALL GROWERS SHOULD ACT COOPERATIVELY IN CREATING MIGRANT HOUSING THROUGH THE TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE OF A STATE AGENCY.

8. THE STATE OF NEW YORK, THROUGH AN APPROPRIATE AGENCY, SHOULD INVESTIGATE THE POTENTIAL LEASING AND PURCHASING OF FARM LABOR CAMPS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE MIGRANT HOUSING FOR THOSE NOT SERVED BY GROWERS AND PROCESSORS AND IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A CENTRAL TRANSITIONAL HOUSING RESOURCE FOR MIGRANTS IN TRANSITION INTO PERMANENT RESIDENCY.

INTRODUCTION

A. General Background

Agricultural migrancy as a national phenomenon is undergoing change. The factors underlying this change are as diverse as they are effective. Within this report, several factors of change are considered relevant to the topic of housing agricultural migrants during their temporary stay within New York State.

Although these relevant influences are perceived, described, and, in some cases, are estimated in terms of future impact, the projections of change contained in this report are obviously not prophetic. The complexity and rapidity of change in recent years are likely to continue, and the condition of American and New York State agriculture, in five, ten or twenty years from now, cannot be precisely projected; but it should be safe to assume that conditions will differ from the present.

The forces of change are not immune to the leavening of concerned individuals, groups and governments. The future of migrants in New York State of their housing environment will not be vague abstractions if reasonable men of good will function as participants in the future and in change, rather than as uninvolved observers. The future of migrant housing, then, is presented in this report as a circumstance that is, at least in part, susceptible to change. Reports, such as this one, become inputs of opinion and information that the New York State Center for Migrant Studies, and other appropriate organizations and agencies, can use in attempting to shape the present into a more desirable future.

B. National Concern

Across the country, there is growing concern with agricultural migrancy as a social and economic element of our society. Congressional Hearings, foundation studies, growers' organizations, church groups, welfare and educational organizations, and other groups are probing the problems and posing some solutions to the circumstances of the migrant.

Heretofore, the migrant has had a low silhouette in the structure of American society. His new-found attention is turning him into a more visible person. His housing is unseen by most of the American public, and his movement from place to place, by truck, car or bus, is diluted into anonymity by the overwhelming flow of "normal" highway traffic. Governmental statistics attest to those conditions of migrant health, housing, income and education that place him at or near the bottom of the barrel of American Society. His future has been restricted by the lack of knowledge, understanding and concern on the part of much of society, and by his own ignorance, poverty and tradition.

But, the migrant is part of the ever-changing American scene. He is not totally isolated from historical dynamics. He is not totally isolated from the proper concern of individuals, groups and agencies. He is not treated harshly by all crew leaders, growers or processors. He is not an average slice of the migrant stream, for he is an individual and he may differ as greatly from another migrant as the measure of difference between any of us.

And he does have rising expectations. He has always been concerned about wages. He is concerned about his family. He is increasingly aware of the conditions of his employment, including housing, education and medical care. That he is concerned is attested to by the inestimable, but significant, rate of "drop out" from the migrant stream. We are aware of the drop outs in New York State, but we should also be aware of the past, present and potential rate of drop out in the migrant's "home area" of the southeastern states.

Programs of health and education affect the migrant and his family in favorable ways along the geographical lines of his travels. These programs should be strengthened and extended; the improving climate of national concern will make it less difficult to install and expand seasonal programs of health and education.

C. Variants of Concern

Concern for the migrant is not a homogenous emotion. The State of New York is concerned that there be a minimum standard of health and safety in the living and working environments of agricultural worker, and compliance with those minimal standards. Church, educational, welfare and other non-profit groups invest time, money and interest in improving the life of the migrant to and above minimal standards. The grower and processor want and need a productive work force that allows them to be successful in their farm operations. To compete for the best migrant crews and in order to respond to the growing demands of the migrants, many growers are constantly improving conditions of employment, including housing and the general camp environment.

This report, then, recognizes the wide range of differences existent in the approaches that different groups take to the process of improving the life of the migrant. The migrant is concerned with wages, working conditions and the quality of his life and the life of his family. The grower wants a dependable work force of adequate size and good quality. The State establishes and enforces standards that promote adequate health and living and working conditions. Other groups are primarily concerned with the general and specific welfare of migrants in general, including the health, education and welfare of the sizable numbers of children in the migratory families.

Although interviews have often suggested that these several different groups may be, at times, at cross-purposes. This report holds that variant interests can be made compatible in shaping a more tolerable and productive life for the seasonal agricultural migrant during his sojourn in New York State.

D. Migrants and "Staygrants"

The growing body of ex-migrants in New York State differs from those still actively in the migrant stream, in that they have become permanent residents of the State. The ex-migrant, or "staygrant", bases his residency on the acquisition, or the hope of acquisition, of a permanent job. Such permanent jobs may be in agriculture, but very often are found to be in the lesser skilled jobs in New York industry. Such jobs are in foundries, construction work, food processing plants and in a wide array of other types of work.

The ex-migrant retains deficiencies in education, health, housing, and, therefore, because he represents a growing number of people in the State on a twelve month basis, in contrast to the migrant who represents a decreasing population within the State on a short term basis, the ex-migrant demands an increasing amount of public and private attention. Although the ex-migrant is neither the general nor the specific concern of this report. This report holds the solutions to the life problems of the migrant must be legislatively and administratively structured to be broad enough in scope to include the elements of housing, health and education relative to all of those persons within rural and small town areas of New York State who experience deprivation below the standards that reasonable men and a responsible society will allow.

The 1960 U. S. Census of Housing reports that over 800,000 dwelling units, or approximately fifteen per cent of the total in New York State, are deteriorating or dilapidated. Inadequate migrant and ex-migrant housing in New York State certainly represents a numerically small number, when compared to the total of inadequate housing in the State. Although much of what can be done to improve the housing circumstances of the migrant must be specifically oriented to migrant housing, administrative machinery to improve migrant housing should be closely related to, or an integral part of, that administrative machinery which is directed toward the improvement of rural housing in general.

The great amount of attention properly given to bad housing in the urban ghettos tends to obscure the less visible, but more prevalent, measure of bad housing in the small towns and the rural areas of our State. Relatively unknown to most Americans is the fact that two-thirds of our Nation's bad housing is outside of the urban areas.

A coalition of concern for the condition of all types of inadequate housing in rural New York should be given reality in the form of a State agency or a State sponsored agency that specifically promotes and develops better living environments for the large number of rural residents in inadequate housing, including the relatively small number of ex-migrants and migrants.

E. Reliability and Completeness of Data

For the most part, data presented in the following tables and text are from federal and state publications. These data are presented in this report as fully adequate to express the characteristics of the migratory economy.

Several persons interviewed for this study believe that official data substantially under-report the number of persons involved in seasonal farm work, both on a national scale and in the State of New York. Some sources indicate that the under-reporting could be of the magnitude of one-fourth to one-third of the number that is actually reported. Several factors combine to explain this under-reporting.

Because of the multiplicity of state and federal regulations, some minor number of labor contractors, successfully evade federal and state requirements, and, hence, are unreported. Also, a substantial number of individuals, or small groups of individuals, make their own arrangements with growers, or simply drift in and drift out, and exist, therefore, outside of the reporting range of the responsible governmental agencies.

Two other factors contribute to under-reporting. First, growers and processors who do not use the services of the New York State Farm Employment Service do not have their labor operations reported in the Farm Employment Service statistics. Secondly, there are housing accommodations illegally unreported. There are also legally unreported residences, that is, housing accommodations for migrants for occupancy by less than five individuals, which housing units are not covered by the regulations of the State Health Department.

Thus, for both legal and illegal reasons, knowledgeable persons report that a substantial number, difficult to ascertain, of migratory farm workers are not included within the official statistics published periodically by governmental agencies.

F. Purpose of the Report

Neither this report, "To House the Migrant", nor any other report, can be a solution to any circumstance, but must be treated as opinions that, hopefully, flow from a basic understanding of migrant housing, and which suggest courses of action that are worthy of further testing. This report is neither an encyclopedia of migrant housing in the State of New York, nor a final report of what should be done to dramatically improve migrant housing.

The bias of this report is that increased attention should be given by the State of New York to the formation and reformation of programs to improve the migrant living environment.

The attitude of this report is that observations and recommendations contained herein should be tested in greater depth, in order to ascertain the potential of giving certain recommendations implementation in fact, not just in word.

PART I

THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER 1 - WHO ARE THE MIGRANTS?

Seasonal farm workers are part of the American way of agricultural life. As families and individuals they follow the seasons moving from crop to crop, retiring to a home base only when the bulk of harvesting has been completed.

The migrant stream across the country is made up of diverse elements. Some are American Black, some are Puerto Rican, Indian, Mexican-American, Canadian, Jamaican, Bahamian, White American. Many are in families, many are bachelors, or travel as individuals. Most are organized into crews, but many make their own arrangements. Most are hard working individuals, skilled in reaping wages from the hot, hard work of weeding, picking, grading and packing the varied crops of American agriculture.

Some migrants, mostly individuals, earn enough each week only to get by, and they show little hope, much debt, minimal productivity and periodic conflicts with the law.

Yet, for all their diversity, hundreds of thousands of seasonal farm workers annually react as a group to the pulse of harvest time of labor-intensive crops. The timely use of hand labor is still needed on a major scale throughout the nation. But significant changes are happening. Social, political and technical forces are reshaping the size and character of the migratory labor cycle. Although some of the changes that will come to seasonal farm work can be perceived, it is likely that agriculture will generate a continuing need for some of the migrant stream. The migrant stream is an economic force, but migrants are people.

As people the migrants are poorer, in poorer health and more poorly educated than Americans in general. In 196'' the migrant averaged an annual income of $922 for an average of 85 days of work. Federal health programs spent $200 per American in 1967, versus $12 for the migrant. The migrant had an average of 8.6 years in school, and over 17 per cent were functionally illiterate.[1] The best seasonal farm workers, of course, do much better in income, and some families show great care in the education of their children.

Despite the relative success of some, however, it is clear that the migratory farm laborer does not experience the benefits of the many State and Federal programs that are commonly available to the sedentary population of our nation.

Many programs, both public and private, exist to improve the circumstance of the agricultural migrant on a local, state, and national scale. Despite the beneficial impact of most programs, the gap between the migrant and society in general, in terms of health, income, education and housing, remains obvious.

Basis of Migration

Family tradition, lack of other skills and the need for hand labor combine to explain the annual cycle of migration of families and individuals from the southern part of the

United States, as well as Puerto Rico and, illegally, from Mexico, to crop areas across the entire country.

The availability of migrant labor to the nation is inversely proportional to the availability of desirable, year-around jobs in the home counties of the migrants. Migrants have a permanent home, in most cases, but unemployment and underemployment causes them to respond to the demand for hand labor in the fields and orchards in other places.

As economic opportunity and education improve in the southern fringe of our country, it is likely that a diminishing supply of migratory, seasonal farm labor will progressively occur. The slowdown in the migration of rural southern Blacks to northern cities can serve as an analogous circumstance. Within the past year, the Federal Bureau of the Census reported that the rate of migration from rural South to urban North has somewhat abated, apparently stimulated by deteriorating urban conditions and improving social, economic and educational conditions for Southern Blacks. In the Southwest, Mexican-Americans are organizing for change on a scale previously unmatched. Rising expectations, across the country, then, will in the long-term have as much, or more, impact on the availability of traditional sources of seasonal, migratory labor, as will the impact of northern mechanization of crops on the demand for such labor.

Children in the Migrant Stream

There is no difficulty in establishing with data the relatively low socio-economic level of migrants in American society. Although the ratio of children to adults in the migrant stream varies from one area to another, children represent a large percentage of all the migratory streams. Despite special programs oriented to such children by public and private agencies, migrant children cannot be expected to exhibit the same level of health and the same level of educational achievement as those children of the general population who have more fixed residency.

Federal and state legislation are increasingly stringent regarding child labor, but several loopholes exist in this legislation and the difficulty of enforcing the restrictions are obvious. Within limits it may be better for at least the older children to be with their parents in the field than left untended or relatively untended in the camp or at the isolated housing of the free lance migrant family.

Many migrant parents, of course, exhibit great care in the welfare of their children, but for them to be successful in such concern requires overcoming burdens normally not confronted by parents in general.

As long as families are in the interstate migratory stream, greater attention must be given to the health and education of the young. An example of such greater attention to children was reported by the NEW YORK TIMES on June 28, 1970. It was reported that HEW was maintaining a cumulative computer file on 300,000 children of migrant farm families. These records are made available to local agencies.

CHAPTER 2 - MIGRANTS IN THE NATION

Between 1949 and 1967 an annual average of approximately 3,500,000 persons worked for wages in American agriculture, of whom 400,000 were migratory workers. The table below quantities the farmworker force and its two major categories, migratory and non-migratory labor.

TABLE 1

FARM WAGE WORK: NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED FOR ANY PERIOD DURING SPECIFIC YEARS, BY MIGRATORY AND NONMIGRATORY STATUS, SELECTED YEARS, 1949-67

(In Thousands)

	Domestic Farmworkers		
Year	Total	Migratory	Nonmigratory
1967	3,078	276	2,802
1966	2,763	351	2,412
1965	3,128	466	2,662
1964	3,370	386	2,984
1963	3,597	386	3,212
1962	3,622	380	3,242
1961	3,488	395	3,094
1960	3,693	409	3,284
1959	3,577	477	3,100
1957	3,962	427	3,535
1956	3,575	427	3,149
1954	3,009	365	2,644
1952	2,980	352	2,628
1949	4,140	422	3,718

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture, September, 1968.

The non-migratory force constitutes the large majority of the work force. These workers perform their labor within the county of their residence. As permanent residents, the non-migratory farm worker has continuity in use of the basic requirements of health, education, social services, family and housing. Even if these basic needs need improvement, they are available to the sedentary farm worker on a more- or less constant basis and available to him from local government as a resident citizen, not as a sometime resident.

In the nineteen year period, 1949 to 1967 inclusive, the data below show the farm worker decline to be: (in thousands)

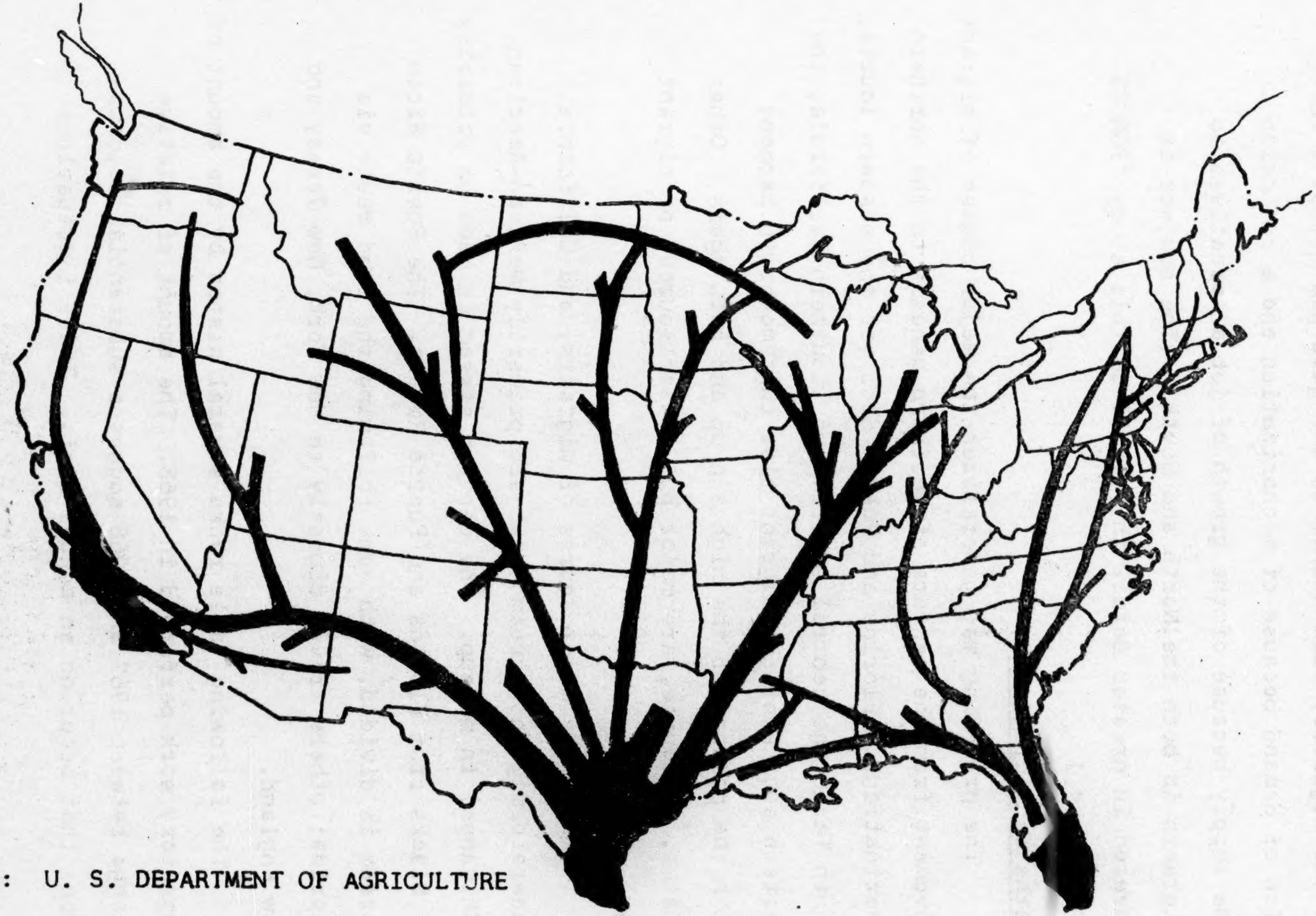
	Total	Migratory	Nonmigratory
1949	4,140	422	3,718
1967	3,078	276	2,802
	1,062	146	916
or	-25.7%	-34.6%	-24.6%

Although beyond the scope of this report, a large proportion of the non-migratory labor exists in environmental conditions as difficult, or almost so, as the conditions experienced by most migratory farm labor.

Major causes of the decrease in the total of hired farm workers are the rapid elimination of sub-marginal and marginal farms nationally, and the increasing tempo of mechanization of the larger, viable family and commercial farm operations.

A major cause of the reduction in the number of the migratory work force was the termination of Public Law 78, the Bracero Program, which from 1951 to 1964 enabled the entry of Mexican Nationals in large numbers into the United States, primarily for farm labor purposes.[2] Although this change altered the source of migrants, in part, adequate numbers of migrants were found, including a growing number of illegal entrants from Mexico. The termination of the Bracero Program had an abrupt impact upon the migrant stream, and in 1968 no Braceros entered the United States under Public Law 78. The number of Braceros entering this country under farm labor contract declined from a high of 445,197 in 1956 to 186,865 in 1963.[3]

THE MIGRANT STREAM



SOURCE: U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Another factor of greater significance in the reduction of the migratory farm worker is the quid pro quo of a reduction of demand because of mechanization and a reduction in the supply because of the growth of job alternatives to migrants in both the North and South. (The subject is covered in greater detail in Part II of this study "FORCES OF CHANGE".)

Paths of Migration

The preceding map generalizes the major routes of migrant movement from the centers of southern genesis to the northern destinations. Florida and Puerto Rico are the eastern source; South Texas the central source; and, Southern California, the western source of the migrant tide that moves in harmony with the passage of the high sun up and back again. Other states, of course, are major but lesser sources of migrant labor.

Texas, the major source of migrants, and California generate migrant streams that are primarily Mexican-American (Chicanos) in makeup. The eastern stream is made up primarily of Blacks from Florida and Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican stream is divided, with some following the land route via Florida; others travel directly to New York, New Jersey and New England.

The following table ranks several states by the amount of migratory work performed in 1968. The amount of relative change between 1967 and 1968 suggests substantial fluctuations that occur on an annual basis. These fluctuations

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED MAN-MONTHS OF MIGRATORY LABOR, BY STATE, UNITED STATES, 1968, AND CHANGE FROM 1967

State	Thousands of man-months of migratory worker employment	
	1968	Change from 1967
United States	1,368.9	-40.9
California	349.4	+36.9
Florida	144.7	+15.2
Michigan	119.4	-17.4
Texas	74.4	+ 3.4
Washington	58.2	-10.9
New Jersey	55.7	- 1.9
New York	50.3	-11.8
Ohio	49.9	- 2.2
Oregon	48.7	- 8.7
Other States	418.2	-43.5

Based on midmonth employment. The 1968 figures include preliminary data for the month of December.

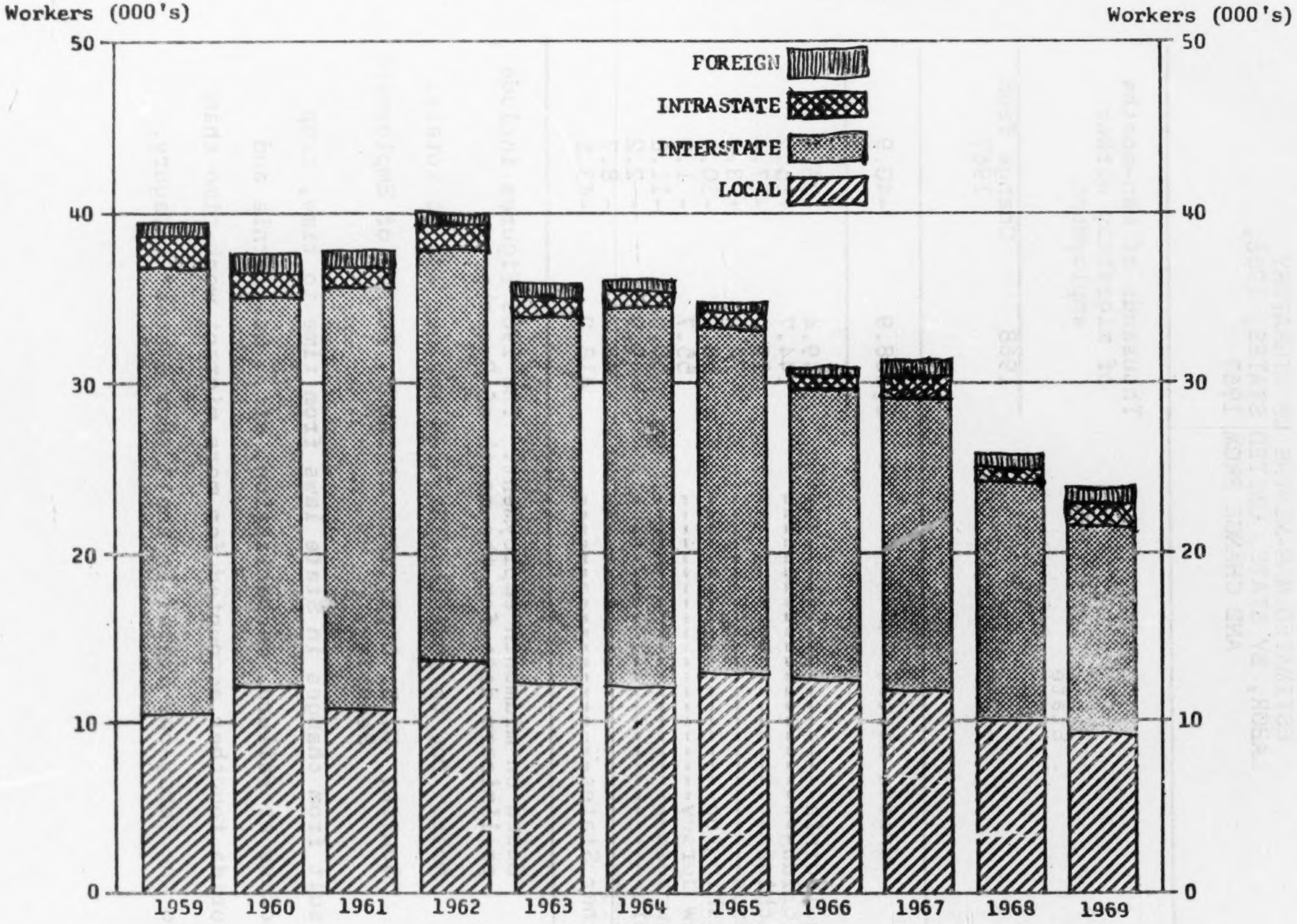
Note: Due to rounding, figures may not add to totals.

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security.

result from changes in State laws from time to time, crop success or failure, mechanization, etc. California and Florida together accounted for more migrant work-time than did the forty-one States in the "Other States" category.

TABLE 4

New York State
Seasonal Hired Agricultural Reported Employment at Annual Peak Period
of Employment, by Origin of Workers, 1959-1969



SOURCE: New York State, ES-223 "In-Season Farm Labor Reports" 1959 - 1969, (ES-223 reporting areas revised as of May 1967), State Headquarters, New York State Farm Employment Service, Rochester, New York. January 1970.

CHAPTER 3 - MIGRANTS IN NEW YORK STATE

Each year the New York State Employment Service, Division of Employment, Department of Labor, publishes an annual report on farm labor. These excellent reports serve as the primary source of information on the quantity, distribution, composition and changes of that portion of the Atlantic Coast migrant stream that works annually in New York agriculture.

The graph on the facing page portrays the reduction in both the total of seasonal hired agricultural help and interstate migrants in the eleven year period 1959 - 1969, inclusive. The reduction over this period in the total number of hired agricultural workers approaches 40 per cent, whereas the reduction in the interstate migratory category is approximately 50 per cent.

As can be seen from the chart, foreign and intrastate workers make up a relatively small proportion of the total of agricultural farm workers in the New York State.

Significant for the future of a reliable supply of labor for New York State agriculture has been the relative stability of local workers. Roughly 10,000 local workers each year perform seasonal agricultural work within the State. As discussed elsewhere in this report, continuing efforts must be made to gather, train and encourage the local population within New York State to perform an increasing percentage of the decreasing amount of seasonal farm labor that is required by our State agricultural economy.

The New York State Employment Service is aggressively pursuing such a goal. Although initial efforts have not been markedly successful, the State Employment Service does operate an office within New York City to encourage the development of a supply of hand labor from the City population.

More success has been achieved in recruiting students and encouraging success has, in places, been achieved through the use of student labor. An example is the large strawberry harvest which was gathered in Central New York by a large number of students who were recruited by the State Employment Service.

Other sources of local labor include the traditional ones of persons of all age levels in smaller communities and in rural areas who have for many years participated in the grape harvest and to varying degrees in the harvest of other crops.

As migrants continue to drop out of the migrant stream and resettle with other employment, New York State acquires a potential pool of experienced seasonal farm workers from those members of ex-migrant families who are not otherwise permanently employed. Although no data exist on the annual percentage of drop-out from the New York State migrant force, there are thousands of migrants who are now permanent residents within the State, and this small, but growing body of permanent New York State residents should be increasingly relied upon as a skilled source of farm labor, and a source that totally, or for the most part, would not require seasonal housing.

The following graph portrays four basic sources of seasonal farm labor; Interstate, Intrastate, Foreign and Local. The graph also portrays the absolute size of each of the four categories for the eleven reporting years, and also the relationship between the size of each of the four groups for each of the eleven years.

Sources of Interstate Migratory Labor

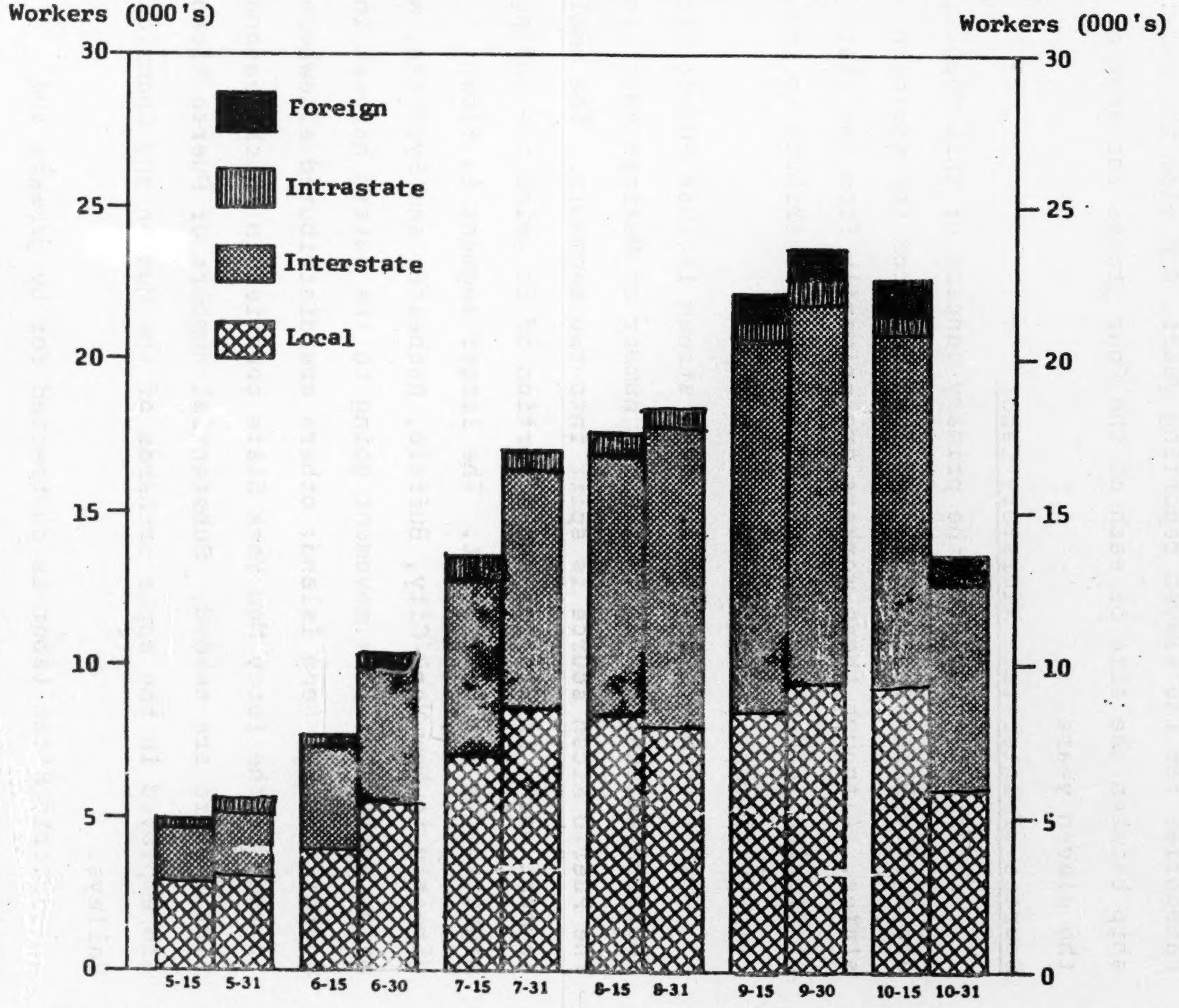
Interstate migrants, the primary concern of this report, are mostly Black individuals and families from the southern states. Although these workers are primarily from the State of Florida, other southeastern states also contribute to the complex migrant stream.

Other elements in the Atlantic stream include Puerto Ricans, Southern Whites, and an increasing number of Mexican Americans. The Puerto Rican source is split into two segments. The smaller segment works in Florida and a portion of it joins the spring migration up the East Coast. The larger segment is flown directly to New York City, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, with major numbers of this movement going to the potato harvest in Suffolk County, Long Island; others are distributed elsewhere to many of the forty New York State counties in which seasonal farm workers are needed. Substantial numbers of Puerto Ricans are employed in the apple orchards of the Hudson and Champlain Valleys.

Puerto Rican labor is contracted for by growers and processors by the Puerto Rican Government on an annual contract basis. Because of this regulated approach, the grower is more

TABLE 5

New York State
1969 Pattern of Reported Seasonal Hired Agricultural Employment
Number of Workers, Total and by Origin for Semimonthly Reporting Periods



SOURCE: 1969 ES-223 "In-Season Farm Labor Reports" (Unadjusted) State Headquarters, New York State Farm Employment Service, Rochester, New York.

assured of a reliable source of labor supply when he needs it, and the Puerto Rican worker, because of the contract negotiations, is more assured of a definite wage pattern and better housing and camp conditions. The Puerto Rican crews flown into New York City are all male.

A small, but growing, number of Mexican Americans are appearing in seasonal farm work in New York State. One branch moves up the Atlantic Coast from Florida, and the other comes into Western New York State as the eastern most branch of the central migrant stream, originating in South Texas. Mexican Americans primarily travel as family units, and ordinarily as part of an organized crew. Mexican Americans also tend to consider migratory labor as a permanent vocation, in contrast to the Atlantic Coast migrant stream, where turnover is fairly rapid, and a large proportion of the workers tend to drop out of the migrant stream after a few years of experience.

If the reduction in the supply of migrants in the Atlantic Stream is greater than the diminishing demand, it is possible that Mexican-Americans will play a larger role in the seasonal farm work to be done in New York State.

Sources of Intrastate Migratory Labor

Intrastate workers represent a minor part of the seasonal farm work force. An intrastate farm worker is one who lives within New York State and works within New York State, but outside the county of his residence.

Sources of Foreign Migratory Labor

On the facing page appears a graph from the State Farm Employment Service, which pictures the migrant labor as used in the State by time period and by the geographical source of the labor. Although local, interstate and intrastate workers are active in the State from spring to fall, foreigners work in New York State only during the fall months. The foreign source of farm labor is virtually all from the British West Indies, with a small number of Canadians. The foreign labor is used in the apple harvest, which is one of the fall crops of New York State Agriculture.

Sources of Local Migratory Labor

As suggested in the preceding pages, the local source of seasonal farm workers is a major and varied source of the total farm labor market. Although this source of labor is generally categorized as "day haul", this source does include individuals who live in close proximity to the source of work and who make their own travel arrangements. The State Farm Employment Service, of course, organizes crews that are trucked from urban centers to the fields or processing centers in the mornings and are trucked back to the pick-up points in the evenings.

Student labor is restricted from assuming a larger role than it now plays because of the time disparity between school vacations and the time of the harvesting of the spring and fall crops.

Although noted earlier, it should again be emphasized that the increasing "staygrant" or resident population is being, and to an increasing extent should be, developed as a "day haul" source of local farm labor.

Finally, the significance of local labor to this report is that there is an inverse relationship between the use of local labor in New York State agriculture, and the need for farm labor housing.

Destinations of Interstate Migrants

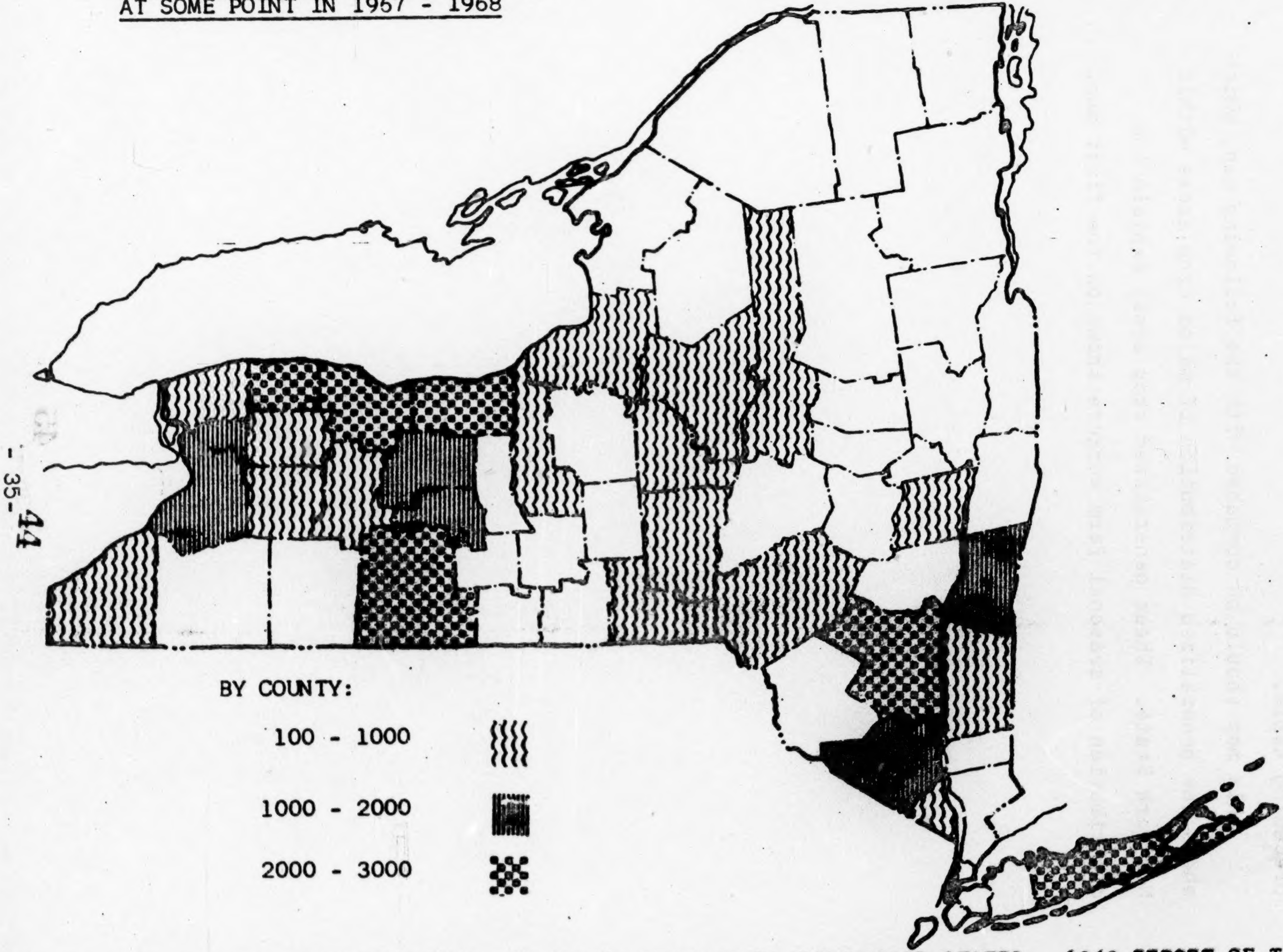
Although the State Farm Employment Service reports that approximately 40 New York State counties are worked in annually by seasonal farm labor, 27 counties had 100 or more seasonal farm workers in the 1967-68 season. The following table lists the 27 counties, the number of migratory farm workers in each and the length of the crop season in each. The great majority of the seasonal farm workers and their families are interstate migrants.

TABLE 6

COUNTIES HAVING APPROXIMATELY 100 OR MORE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND NONWORKING FAMILY DEPENDENTS THAT EITHER MIGRATED INTO, OR RESIDED IN, THE AREA AT SOME POINT DURING 1967-68[1]

State and County	Total	Estimated Span of Crop Season
New York:		
Albany	100	
Broome	126	Sept. 29 - Oct. 27
Cayuga	589	June 16 - Oct. 27
Chautaugua	351	June 23 - Oct. 27
Chenango	300	
Columbia	1,106	June 16 - Oct. 27
Delaware	105	July 15 - Oct. 15
Dutchess	819	July 7 - Oct. 27
Erie	1,128	May 5 - Oct. 15
Genesee	519	June 10 - Oct. 27
Herkimer	300	July 15 - Oct. 15
Livingston	538	June 20 - Oct. 27
Madison	300	
Monroe	2,667	May 15 - Oct. 27
Niagara	572	June 30 - Oct. 27
Oneida	300	June 15 - Oct. 15
Ontario	1,500	Do.
Orange	1,516	May 15 - Oct. 27
Orleans	2,666	May 15 - Nov. 15
Oswego	409	May 1 - Nov. 1
Rockland	132	May 15 - Oct. 27
Steuben	2,180	Aug. 1 - Nov. 1
Suffolk	3,000	Jan. 1 - Dec. 1
Ulster	3,000	May 15 - Nov. 1
Wayne	2,666	May 15 - Nov. 15
Wyoming	819	Aug. 15 - Oct. 15
Yates	1,500	June 15 - Oct. 15
	29,280	

SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL POPULATION
AT SOME POINT IN 1967 - 1968


BY COUNTY:
100 - 1000 ≋
1000 - 2000 ■
2000 - 3000 ▦

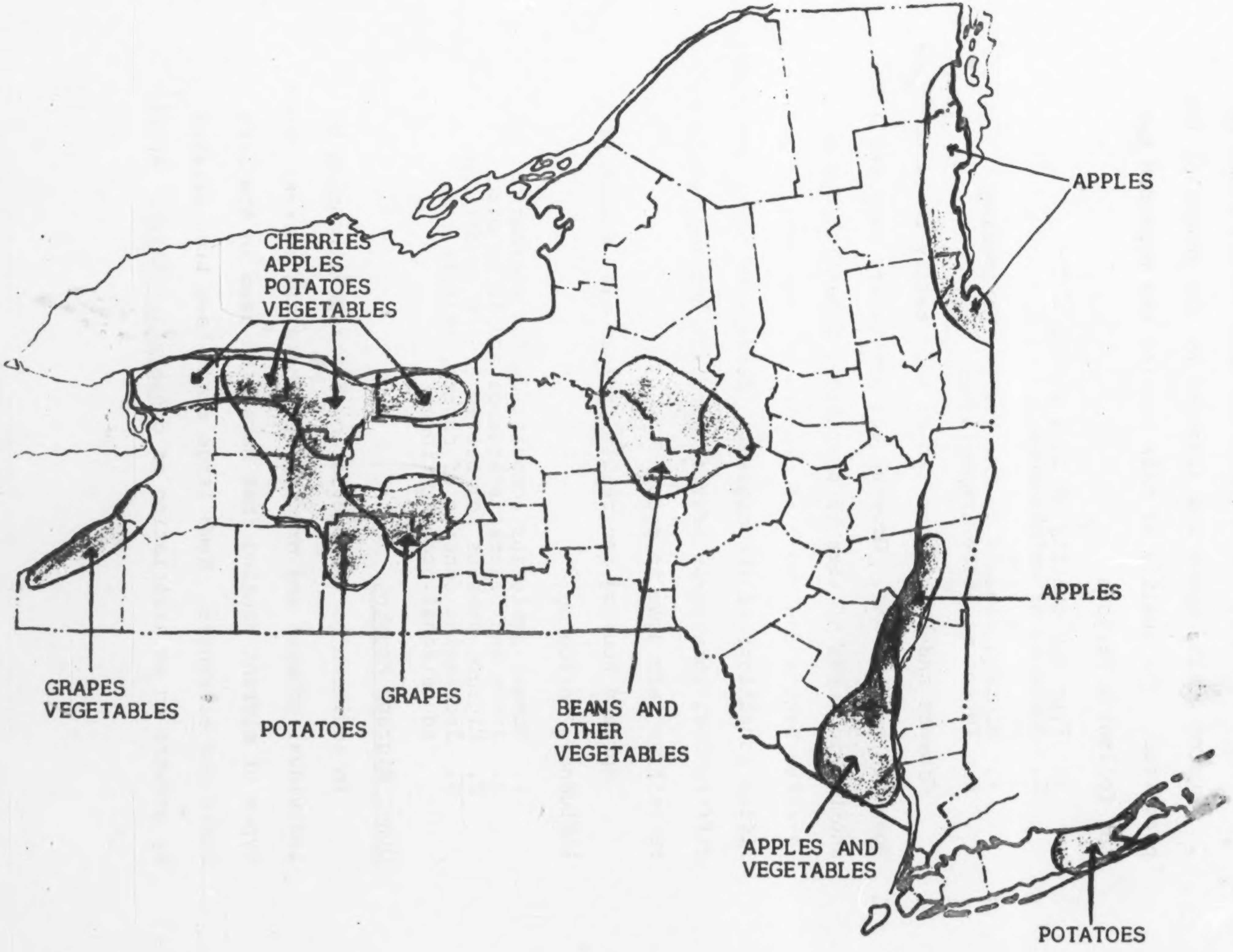
SOURCE: Adapted from THE MIGRATORY FARM LABOR PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES - 1969 REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, U.S. SENATE; SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

The map on the facing page shows the pattern of geographical distribution of the seasonal farm workers, as described in the preceding table.

This map should be compared with the following map, which shows the generalized distribution of major crop areas within New York State. These generalized crop areas explain the distribution of seasonal farm workers shown on the first map.

TABLE

GENERALIZED MAJOR CROP AREAS


CHERRIES
APPLES
POTATOES
VEGETABLES
APPLES
APPLES
GRAPES
VEGETABLES
GRAPES
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BEANS AND
OTHER
VEGETABLES
APPLES AND
VEGETABLES
POTATOES

CHAPTER 4 - THE HOUSING CIRCUMSTANCE

Traditionally, the migrant has been housed primarily in housing built, owned and financed by the grower or the processor. The quality of this housing has depended upon the following factors:

1. Type and quality of construction.
2. Adequacy of maintenance.
3. Age of housing.
4. Migrant conduct in the use of the housing.
5. Impact of State inspections.

Growers and processors can no more easily be categorized than can be migrants. Growers and processors vary one from another in terms of size of operation, financial success, personal habits and level of concern for the working and living conditions of the migrant. Because of these individual differences, some camps provide adequate housing, while others range from fair down to poor.

Improved housing can result from several forces of influence, including:

1. Grower-processor competition for migrants.
2. State and Federal standards and inspection.
3. Migrant demands for better living conditions.
4. Increasing concern of church, welfare and educational organizations.

Other Migrant Housing

In addition to the provision of seasonal housing by individual growers and processors, there are several other types of migrant housing that have been used in New York State and elsewhere. Some large camps have been created by growers on an association or cooperative basis. Apart from the successful provision of the physical shelter that this approach has allowed, major weaknesses stem from the difficulty in maintaining strong camp management and maintenance when several growers are involved, and the likelihood that the peak need for the camp inhabitant often occurs simultaneously on the farms of each of the cooperating growers. As a special note, it should be commented that some interviewed migrants are critical of the idea of large camps because they fear that large camps can constitute impersonal ghettos.

Other migrants provide their own quarters in the form of house trailers, tents, or even their own cars. These makeshift facilities are set on the grower's farm, in a camp, or even in public parks. Obviously, such housing is not conducive to the good health or attitude of the migrant, and is a particular hardship on his children. The advantage of such housing to the migrant is that he maintains maximum flexibility of his time and he can seek out the best paying crops with greater ease than a crew member, particularly a crew member living in a grower's camp. This advantage of flexibility should not be underestimated, since a large number of migrants do make their own arrangements. Further, mechanization of crops increasingly requires the independent migrant to search harder for those fields and orchards that are paying well and still use large amount of hand labor.

Other migrants, who do not bring along their own housing, simply search out places to stay, including second-rate motels, shacks, the open ground, or whatever other facility they can find for free or for minimal rental. Again, this type of hit-or-miss housing is not at all conducive to the good health of the migrant and his family, or to his attitude towards society in general, and to those around him in particular.

Because migrants who bring or find their own housing, are, in large part, outside the services of the State Department of Health, it is virtually impossible to estimate their numbers. Knowledgeable people, however, claim that these independent migrants, that is, those who travel singly or in small groups, constitute a major share of the seasonal farm labor in New York State. These migrants are commonly used by growers who have minimal need for large migrant crews, on farms too small for the grower to afford the creation of a camp and on those farms where the growers has been unable or unwilling to meet the housing requirements of State and Federal law. Migrants operating outside of crews and crew leaders exhibit the highest rate of mobility, since they search out the most remunerative piece-work opportunities in any given area of their brief stay.

As was noted above, the increasing mechanization of farm operations makes it progressively difficult for a sizable crew to realize a full season of constantly remunerative labor, at least in the spring and summer seasons. In the fall, the continuing need for sizable crews exists for the apple and potato crops. Of course, crews are still required in Upstate New York, despite the mechanization; but, the mechanization trend can be expected to favor the independent migrant, who, with his greater flexibility, can search out what demand there is for his services in the spring and summer.

Non-profit organizations have provided some housing nationally, and these facilities function as camps centralized in the area of crop production. This type of housing releases the grower from the obligation of providing housing, but yet allows migrants to come into the area and serve his needs. Because of the motives of the sponsoring organization, additional attention, on the average, is given to the quality of the living environment and the health, recreational, educational and welfare needs of the migrants. Liabilities of this housing approach are that the individual grower is not assured of a timely supply of hand labor, and the sponsoring organization experiences the difficulties of financing the construction and maintenance of the facilities, and often lacks the expertise to cope with the intricacies of financing under governmental programs.

Despite the difficulties inherent in the provision of migrant housing by non-profit groups (which could include churches, health and welfare operations, OEO Agencies, unions, or simply concerned individuals organized as a corporation), with the greater availability to such groups of financing and technical assistance, these organizations could serve a definite role in alleviating the housing circumstances of migrants, especially those who travel as individuals or in family groups. Further, such organizations could assist the migrant who desires to undergo the transition from his migratory status to permanent residency. Such assistance could include allowing the migrant and his family, if he has one, to remain in the seasonal housing throughout the transition period. The migrant could also be assisted by counselling and by his being directed to the appropriate health, education, welfare and job opportunity centers. These migrants, in transition to a more stable life, might also be encouraged, through training, to fulfill the growing need for more skilled labor in New York State agriculture.

Title III B of the Economic Opportunity Act, among other things, allows CAP Agencies (Community Action Program) to provide temporary housing for seasonal workers. Such activities are taking place in at least four states, and specific information was gathered for this report regarding programs in North Carolina and in California. In North Carolina, R.C.A. (Radio Corporation of America) subcontracted a program from the sponsoring local CAP Agency for the comprehensive training of migrants in transition, and for the provision of temporary housing. The mobile housing is available to the migrant or ex-migrant for the several months that he undergoes training for permanent employment.

It should be emphasized that the Title III B Program appears to be suited to the needs of the migrant who is in transition into a more stable and permanent life-style. However, with adjustments, it would seem that Title III B could be applied to the housing needs of New York State migrants, especially those who are in New York for the longest seasonal span; that is, from April to November.

There is a substantial difference in the creation of migrant housing between New York State on the one hand, in contrast to Florida, Texas, Arizona, California and other centers of migrants and crop areas in the South. Although there is some applicability to New York State of the southern housing experience, such applicability is restricted by climate alone.

Because of climatic differences, the construction of housing in the deep South and the Southwest is less expensive, on a square foot basis. Further, because of the extended growing season in the South and because many migrants consider these southern areas their "permanent" residence, the annual length of occupancy of southern migrant housing is longer, and hence, greater annual rental income is available for the amortization and maintenance of such camp housing.

New York State migrant housing is more expensive, not only because of prevailing economic differences between New York and many southern areas, but also because of climatic differences and because State housing regulations are stricter than in at least some of the southern states. Not only is the growing season shorter in New York State than in most of these other areas, but the peak need for migrants occurs for a relatively brief time.

This period of maximum occupancy makes it difficult for the grower to economically justify the best type of housing, since he provides the housing at no cost, or at a minimal cost. The brief period of peak occupancy also makes it difficult for association or cooperative housing and non-profit housing, where somewhat higher rents are often charged, to adequately finance a better type of housing, at least without large governmental subsidies.

Public housing agencies provide some housing for the migrants in the South. Such housing would be especially helpful to those migrants who leave their families in the South on a permanent basis. Further, since on a rough average, the migrant spends two-thirds of his time at his place of permanent residence, he also benefits from public housing.

Public housing is also an appropriate housing technique for migrants in South Texas and California, especially in California where such a high proportion of the seasonal farm work is conducted on an intrastate basis, rather than interstate, as in New York. Because of permanent or semi-permanent residency of large numbers of seasonal farm workers in California, a substantial number own their own housing and, in many cases, have up-graded their housing from shacks to new and standard housing. These communities of farm workers' housing can readily be seen from the main roads in the Central Valley.

In rural New York State, incorporated municipalities and towns (but not counties) can establish public housing agencies. A requisite of occupancy, however, is the proof that the applicant is a permanent resident. Although public housing could be directly helpful to migrants who have dropped out of the migratory habit, the migrant who is actively in the seasonal stream is automatically disqualified from the benefits of public housing. Further, very few rural communities and towns have established public housing agencies, or have aggressively pursued the prospect.

Because of the difficulty of successfully creating migrant housing, many innovative efforts have been attempted, including those mentioned above. In California, the City of Fresno received a Section 314 Demonstration Grant (National Housing Act) several years ago, to undertake a feasibility study of rehabilitating a skidrow district and turning it into a modern and complete migrant labor center. The center was to meet the major needs of employment service, housing, health and welfare, business needs and recreation.

The Quantity and Distribution of Migrant Housing

In the last few years, not only have State and Federal regulations of migrant housing become stricter, but these regulations have been more aggressively administered by the appropriate agencies. As the result, many labor camps have been closed because the grower was unable or unwilling to make the necessary improvements. Many other camps have been improved to meet the higher standards through the cooperation of the grower-processor and State regulatory personnel.

The State Health Department is charged with the inspection and certification of farm labor camps, whereas the State Farm Labor Service is responsible for the administration of Federal housing regulations in camps owned by employers who use the Farm Employment Service in recruiting interstate migrants. Perhaps time will ease the confusion that exists over the varying standards and requirements of State and Federal laws, but the agencies involved must continue to resolve some of this confusion. Those efforts are under way and the participating agencies should be commended, and their efforts extended.

The following table is prepared from data collected by the State Department of Health. The table lists the number of farm labor camps with a capacity of five or more occupants for the year 1967. It should be noted that the list does not include the apparently large number of housing accommodations the migrants find in New York State or bring into New York State. The following table lists a total reported camp capacity of 24,724. But, since on the average, this capacity is only about two-thirds used, the total population in the camps at any given time would be 15,000 to 16,000.

The number of farm labor camps has been decreasing for several years and this trend is expected to continue. Some labor camps are inoperative because they are not in compliance with State requirements; others are unused or under-used because the farm or farms they serve have been mechanized.

TABLE 9

SPECIAL SURVEY OF FARM LABOR CAMPS

County	No. FLC	Capacity	No. Inspections
Albany	2	100	
Cattaragus	2	181	
Cayuga	10	1174	
Chautaugua	7	185	
Chenango	1	14	
Columbia	33	732	25
Delaware	4	116	
Dutchess	16	617	
Erie	34	925	24
Essex	1	18	
Genesee	10	1040	
Greene	1	14	
Herkimer	3	260	
Jefferson	1	8	
Livingston	9	634	4
Madison	1	25	
Monroe	30	719	
Nassau	1	---	
Niagara	28	686	
Oneida	11	717	
Onondaga	3	72	
Ontario	10	470	
Orange	45	1321	14
Orleans	55	1407	26
Oswego	26		
Otsego	3	64	
Putnam	1	12	
Rockland	5	59	
Seneca	1	14	
Steuben	56	2600	22
Suffolk	104	898	23
Ulster	130	2924	17
Wayne	166	4502	24
Westchester	2	66	
Wyoming	24	1226	
Yates	5	332	
TOTALS	841	24,724	179

Source: State Department of Health-1967

Although some of these unused farm labor camps are idle, others are used by growers for storage or other purposes.

It is proposed that further study be made of the potential use of inoperative farm labor camps by governmental or non-profit agencies as central labor camps. These existing facilities could be leased or purchased from the present owner, rehabilitated where necessary, and, in addition to housing, the migrant could receive vocational training and health and educational services for himself and his children. Obviously many camps are not of adequate quality or condition for such a program, but some are. Many growers would be reluctant to participate in such a venture, but others might not be reluctant to do so.

Conditions of Migrant Housing

In 1968, the State Department of Health published a Special Survey of Farm Labor Camps, which was conducted in the latter part of 1967. Six pages of that study are reproduced in Appendix A of this report. Although the survey conducted was a sample of farm labor camps and does not include all camps, not so inspected, the results are the best single guide to conditions prevailing in the State's migrant housing.

In 1968, another report, Migrant Labor Camp Program, was published by the New York State Health Department. This report was assembled from information provided by the Regional Public Health Engineer in each of the Department's five New York State Regions.

The following scale was used in rating the condition of the structures and the basic camp facilities, but did not include camp conditions based on the housekeeping practices of the tenants.

> "Excellent A camp with a modern structure (built in the last five years, approximately); all facilities required by the Sanitary Code are modern and operative; good maintenance; few if any minor violations.
>
> Good to fair camp Housing in good structural condition but not neccessarily new; all basic sanitary facilities available as required by the Sanitary Code; good maintenance, at least at the beginning of the season; owner attempts to cooperate; camp may have some minor violations.
>
> Marginal camp Housing had deteriorated; sanitary requirements barely met; maintenance program unsatisfactory; owner not cooperative."

The survey based on information from each of the five Regions, using the rating scale above, resulted in the following conclusions:

TABLE 10

"STATUS OF FARM LABOR CAMPS"

Region	Excellent	Good to Fair	Marginal
Albany Region (camps in 10 counties)	14	53	2
Buffalo Region (camps in 6 counties)	33	95	16
Rochester Region (camps in 8 counties)	38	213	49
Syracuse Region (camps in 7 counties)	16	28	15
White Plains Region (camps in 9 counties)	59	199	39
TOTAL	160 (18.4%)	588 (67.7%)	121 (13.9%)

In 1968, the State of New York adopted legislation increasing the minimum standards for seasonal farm housing. One of these changed standards was an increase in the square footage of floor area required per person for a single bed from forty square feet to fifty square feet for a single bed. Other square footage requirements also were increased. Since most migrant housing was built to the lower minimum (40 square feet), a great deal of difficulty was expreienced by growers and processors in achieving compliance with the new State Health requirements for virtually all their existing housing.

In 1968, temporary permits were granted as growers attempted to comply with the new standards; in 1969 and 1970, progressively fewer temporary permits have been granted. Some existing housing has been altered to meet the tighter standards, some new housing has been built, and some housing is not used at all, and cannot be until compliance is achieved.

Although State agencies and personnel were as helpful as possible in working with growers and processors to over-come the difficulties of the transition, the growers should have had access to a State Agency through which low interest loans could be procured for construction and reconstruction, and from which technical assistance could have been had. Such technical assistance could have included preparation of applications for financing, and engineering and architectural assistance. These financing and technical aids should be made available to the providers of migrant housing on a scale far beyond that which now exists.

Care should be taken that adequate budgeting exists each year for the State Health Department to employ enough professional inspectors to guarantee the best possible compliance of labor camps with existing standards. Such a continuing investment, perhaps, is the best guarantee of minimal standards for the living environment of seasonal farm laborers.

Tenant Damage

To varying degrees, the conditions found in any labor camp result from the nature of the migrant's use of the housing and other camp facilities. As growers differ in the quality of the camps they build and operate, so do migrants differ in the quality of care they exercise when occupying a labor camp. None-the-less, there is clear evidence of rapid deterioration in some camps because of the rough use of the buildings and grounds by the inhabitants. A report on this subject was distributed at the March, 1970 meeting of the New York State Interdepartmental Committee on Migrant Labor and the New York State Advisory Council on Migrant Labor. The material below is from that report, titled, Destruction of Camp Property by Migrant Workers. The report notes that destruction has been highest in camps where:

1) No one was in charge.
2) There was a great deal of violence.
3) A crew leader was in charge.
4) The crew was largely of unmarried males with high worker turn-over.

On the other hand, the report notes the following characteristics of those camps in which there was little or no destruction:

1) Facilities provided were better than average and provided such things as refrigerators, electric fans and tables.
2) Someone representing the grower was in charge and not a crew leader or member of the migrant group. This person generally had a lot of sensitivity.
3) The crew was recruited and supervised by the grower.
4) The crew consisted mostly of married men and families.
5) Low turn-over of workers from year to year existed.

To the extent that these observations are valid, the latter set of the circumstances listed above should be exploited in the continuing program to enhance the quality of the migrant's living environment.

The same report goes on to discuss several ways in which the migrant's living and working environment could be improved, the net result of which would be a better skilled and more productive worker, living a life freer of the frustrations and conditions that he presently endures.

PART II

FORCES OF CHANGE

CHAPTER 5 - MECHANIZATION

Technological change continues as a dominant theme in American society. Invention, and the practical application of invention produces an increasing array of sophisticated equipment for American business. American agriculture, of course, has and is participating fully in the development of new equipment to handle land preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, grading, storage, and shipping.

The increasing use of new and improved equipment in American agriculture results in a decreasing reliance on labor, especially the stoop labor so commonly associated in labor - intensive agriculture.

Most small and even moderate sized farms find it difficult to acquire the capital necessary to the purchase and use of evermore sophisticated machinery and equipment. Also, in order to maximize the efficient use of machinery and equipment, larger and financially stronger farm operations have been getting larger at the expense of the smaller and more marginal farm operations.

The trend towards mechanization in agriculture is a continuing one, and has an increasing impact upon the size and distribution of the total migrant stream. The impact of new machinery on a single farm operation can have a very drastic effect upon the number of migrants required on such a farm.

The examples given below attest to the rapid reduction in the need for migrants when an area, a farm, or a crop are converted from mostly hand labor to mostly mechanized equipment.

It should be noted that complete mechanization of many crops is unlikely to occur for many years. In some instances, complete mechanization may never occur. Many of the vegetable and fruit crops are used in two quite distinct ways. Much of the produce is canned or frozen, and mechanization has been especially rapid involving that part of any crop that is frozen, canned or otherwise processed. On the other hand, that portion of any crop which is to be marketed as fresh produce must be of better or the best quality in terms of appearance, lack of bruises, and must be of the appropriate ripeness. Mechanical harvesters and handling equipment in many cases have not been perfected to the point that they can be used for that portion of the crop going to the market as fresh produce. The mechanical harvester is much less discriminate than the field laborer in judging the quality and ripeness of a particular fruit or vegetable.

Therefore, although mechanization is occasioning substantial changes in agriculture, some crops are not at all conducive to harvest by mechanical equipment and, in the case of other crops, the equipment is not yet adequately sophisticated to be used for the marketing of fresh produce.

Approximately 23 vegetable crops and 11 fruit crops are commercially grown in New York State.[1]

VEGETABLES

Potatoes
Tomatoes
Sweet Corn
Cucumbers and Pickles
Snap Beans
Cabbage
Cantaloupes-Muskmelons
Sweet Peppers
Green Peas
Green Lima Beans
Squash
Dry Onions
Asparagus
Carrots
Lettuce-Romaine
Table Beets
Pumpkins
Spinach
Cauliflower
Broccoli
Celery
Brussel Sprouts
Sugar Beets

FRUITS

Strawberries
Rasberries
Apples
Peaches
Pears
Grapes
Plums,Prunes
Sour Cherries
Sweet Cherries
Quinces
Currants

As of 1968 the New York State Employment Service reported that mechanical harvesting was occurring, at least in part, with 24 of the crops, and that experimental equipment existed for several of the other ten.

Major New York State Crops and Mechanization[2]

1. Apples - Processing apples can be harvested with mechanical equipment, and this mechanization trend continues. Fresh market apples are still harvested by hand.
2. Red Tart Cherries - The tart cherry harvest is increasingly accomplished through the use of mechanical equipment.
3. Grapes - A greatly increased use of mechanical equipment is occurring, which is significantly reducing the need for field labor.

4. Potatoes - The New York State Employment Service projects an increasing rate at which this crop is mechanized and the reliance upon hand labor is reduced. On Long Island, hand labor is still significant in grading and packing because of the substantial portion of the crop that is destined for the table. In Upstate New York where the potato crop is mostly processed, a lesser reliance on hand labor occurs.

5. Onions - The "onion harvest is primarily mechanical" says the New York State Employment Service.

6. Celery - Although not yet mechanical, the harvesting of celery is predicted to be mechanical in the near future.

7. Lettuce - Although still harvested by hand, a mechanical lettuce harvester is in the experimental stage.

8. Sugar Beets - This crop is mechanically harvested, with some hand labor required for weeding and thinning.

9. Cabbage - Part of this crop is mechanized and the rate of mechanization is expected to increase in the near future.

10. Snap Beans - It is reported that this crop is completely mechanized for processing beans and will be completely mechanized in the near future for fresh market beans.

Specific Examples of Mechanization

In the period 1959 - 1969, mechanization of fresh market snap beans in five Central New York counties resulted in the reduction of interstate migrants from a peak of 7,000 to a 1969 estimate of 370.

The Employment Service also reports the following rapid impact of mechanization in the grape harvest in Western New York:

1967 - experimental use
1968 - 10% mechanized
1969 - 65% mechanized
1970 - 85% mechanized (predicted)

Although the grape harvest in this Erie - Chautaugue area was primarily harvested by local workers, it is significant that the mechanization process resulted in the reduction of the work force by 2,000 - 2,500 people.

It should be noted that, in the foregoing example, each mechanical grape picker replaced 62 hand pickers. Further, in the case of this example, the per ton cost of mechanical harvest was $20.00 compared with a $35.00 per ton cost for hand harvest.[3]

Many other examples can be cited within New York State and in other states of the impact of mechanization on the size of hand labor requirements. The examples cited above are adequately representative of the mechanization trend in New York agriculture that is reducing the need for migratory farm workers.

In counterpoint, however, there remains a need for hand laborers who are skillful in the selection of produce for the fresh market. Further, there is an increasing need for farm labor trained in the use of mechanical harvesting, grading and storage equipment.

Mechanization, therefore, is reducing the total requirements for hand labor, whether it be local labor or migratory labor in New York agriculture, but mechanization also is causing an increased need for the more skillful and the better trained migrant.

CHAPTER 6 - AVAILABILITY OF WORKERS

In the previous chapter, the decrease in the demand for migratory farm labor in New York State through the increasing use of mechanization was discussed. In this chapter, some of the factors influencing the availability or supply of southern migratory labor to the State of New York is to be presented.

In general, it can be said that the mechanization of New York agriculture is part of the technological change that has been occurring, is occurring, and will continue to occur throughout the United States and throughout the world. The primary force behind the mechanization of New York agriculture, therefore, is not the cost, quality, or availability of migratory labor. The factors of cost, quality and availability of migratory labor is, nonetheless, a causative force on the rate at which growers mechanize in general and the specific time and place within the State when any particular grower may choose to mechanize.

Similarly, the decreasing supply of migratory labor to the State of New York is not due primarily to mechanization of agriculture in the State. The diminishing supply of southern migratory labor, rather, appears to result from broad and continuing changes in opportunities which individuals and families are experiencing within the South. The rate of mechanization of agriculture in the North, of course, may influence individual migrants to drop out of the migrant stream at an earlier date, but it is a secondary influence.

Fortune magazine has described changes occurring in the South which directly and indirectly affect the supply of migratory farm labor.[1] The one article appeared in August, 1968 and the other in June, 1970.

The trends discussed by Fortune, of course, have been reported in other journals and studies, and some brief background on these trends in appropriate to this report.

In the period 1940 - 1970, over 3,500,000 Blacks relocated from the South to the North, in part because of their displacement on southern farms by the introduction of mechanization. This mass migration reduced the ratio of Blacks in the South from roughly three-fourths in 1940 to one-half at present.

In the last five years, approximately 100,000 Blacks have migrated North each year and since the current rate of Black exodus is exceeded by the rate of natural increase, the Southern Black population is again increasing.

Rising expectations and improving social, economic and political circumstances for the Southern Black are factors that enhance one another, and they combine to influence the choice of permanent residence by an increasing number of Southern Blacks.

The Family Assistance Act

Legislation proposed by the Nixon administration and which is currently in Congress may have a major impact upon the decision of Southern Blacks in general to remain in the South, and upon Black Southern farm migrants in particular.

The Family Assistance Act, which would be administered by HEW and the Labor Department will have the affect of increasing annual income for all those American people who qualify. The impact upon the South, for both Blacks and Whites, is apt to be especially significant, and it is estimated that 52 per cent of the 20,000,000 people to be benefited by the proposed Act will be Southerners. Of the Southern population to be benefited, Fortune magazine estimates that 6,000,000 will be white and 4,000,000 will be black.[2]

Although the proposed legislation is complex and includes many related programs, its critical impact on the purpose of this report is that Southern Blacks will not only experience a rise in income, but to realize that income, individuals will be obligated to work and the Labor Department, through its field officers, will be helping to expand the absolute increase in the number of the gainfully employed.

It would appear to be proper to predict that the Family Assistance Act, if it becomes the law of the land, and if it is aggressively administered, will accelerate the rate of decrease in the supply of a major source of migratory farm labor to New York State, the Southern Black. He will be encouraged to expand his income and he will receive more assistance than heretofore in job training and in job procurement.

CHAPTER 7 - OTHER TRENDS

In the previous two chapters, attention was given to the reduction in demand for migrants in New York State because of mechanization and major socio-economic influences in the South that are reshaping the supply of migrants to New York State agriculture.

There are many other forces at work that are influencing the size and character of the migrant economy in New York State, including basic changes in New York agriculture, the changing farm wage pattern and land use changes, including urbanization.

Changing Farm Patterns

The rate of change in New York State in recent years is such that it is difficult to surmise the future of New York State agriculture, a future that will shape the need and use of migrant farm labor. The State Employment Service (1968 Annual Report) states that the number of farms declined from 136,000 in 1950 to 61,000 in 1968, a decrease of 55 per cent. Also, "during the same period, the land in farms declined from 17,000,000 acres in 1950 to 12,100,000 in 1968, and the average size farm increased from 125 acres in 1950 to 198 in 1968."

Total New York farm income exceeded one billion dollars in 1969 and reflects the importance of New York State as a center of agriculture. The table below adapted from information contained in the Annual Farm Labor Report, 1968 summarizes, in part, the major role that New York plays in national agriculture.

TABLE 11

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL RANKING - 1968
(50 States)

	NEW YORK STATE (RANK)
All Commodities	15
Livestock	12
All Crops	21
Apples	2
Grapes	2
Dairy Products	2
Maple Products	2
Snap Beans	3
Onions	3
Cherries	4
Potatoes	4
Greenhouse & Nursery	4
Dry Beans	4

Most of the crops listed in the table above utilize migratory farm labor. Potatoes and apples are by far the most important New York State crops in terms of the quantitative use of migrants.

Despite the decline in the number of farms and in agricultural acreage, the quantity of production and the value of production of agriculture commodities in New York State have increased. Agricultural production, infact, has risen steadily in the State since at least 1870.[1]

In 1850, 70 per cent of the State's population was classified as rural, with the large percentage of that rural population supporting its own needs from the produce of the farms.[2]

The revolution in agriculture over the century has been from a largely rural population, in large measure engaged in subsistence farming, to an agricultural economy based on specialization. This specialization demands large quantities of capital invested per farm or per unit of farm production. As mechanization increases, there is reduced need for hand labor input, and a greater need for fewer but better trained farm labor.

Wages

State legislation has increased the level of income required per hour from the grower to the migrant. The exact impact of this wage increase circumstance is beyond the purpose of this report, but it should be noted that one impact is to encourage the use of mechanization at the expense of the amount of migrant labor the grower had previously used. Another alleged impact is the greater competition afforded New York State agriculture by areas already mechanized and by areas in which wages are lower. Related to the competitiveness of New York State agriculture, has been the closing, in the past two years, of processing plants at:

Medina------------------------Snap Beans and Broccoli
Penn Yan----------------------Beans
Rochester area----------------Sugar Beets
Albion------------------------Tomatoes

Increased wages brought about by the State Minimum Wage Law encouraged greater competition for agriculture production by other states. Increased wages improves the ability of New York State growers and processors to compete for migrant labor especially the more production labor grew.

The impact of new state wage laws, then, strengthens the supply of migrant labor to New York, especially to those growers who are larger, more efficient and, hence, more capable of overcoming increased competition from production in other states.

Land Use Change and Urbanization

Land use changes are especially disruptive in that agricultural production area in proximity to the suburbanizing edge of the urban areas. Fruit crops in the Buffalo and Rochester areas and potatoes on Long Island are examples of highly productive areas subject to the competition of urban land uses.

PART III

A HOUSING PROGRAM

CHAPTER 8 - HOW DO WE SOLVE THE PROBLEM?

Previous chapters have established the complex nature of the migrant stream, as well as the many different ways in which migrants are housed while in the State of New York. The quality of the temporary housing varies greatly and ranges from adequate, under present minimal standards, to deplorable. Migrants also exhibit different levels of concern in their search for housing and in their treatment of the housing, once found.

The increasing crescendo of national concern for the welfare of migrant farm labor is made manifest in the form of stricter housing and health regulations. Further, other public and private agencies express their concern for the welfare of the migrant and his family though the provision of new and expanded programs, often governmentally assisted, that touch upon the migrant's life as he pauses in one place, and then another place, in his migration.

The tightening of health and housing standards has definitely encouraged the rate of mechanization; a process, however, that would occur regardless of tightening State and Federal standards. The State of Michigan provides an example of the same trend towards accelerated mechanization that is occurring on New York State farms. The Wall Street Journal, on June 29th, 1970, reported that the stricter Federal Housing regulations are occasioning a drastic increase in mechanization. As a measure of concern, it is reported that 10,000 persons signed petitions to the Labor Department in Washington to request variances in the application of the stricter standards.

Approximately 50,000 migrant workers, primarily Mexican Americans, flow into Michigan each year to harvest about the same range of crops as are harvested by migrants in New York State. However, these migrants must increasingly find shelter outside of registered farm labor camps. The State of Michigan, the article reports, may be prompted by the housing crisis to create migrant housing and lease such space directly to the migrants.

Similarly, there appears to be an increasing need within the State of New York to provide housing for those migrants who are not accommodated in the farm labor camps owned and operated by growers and processors.

A Comprehensive Need

Programs must be further developed, or established, to more adequately house all the migrants in the State of New York. Further, this concept should be extended to include "staygrant" housing, since "staygrants" represent an existing and potentially greater pool of skilled farm labor. Such a program must be envisioned as state-wide in scope and of broad enough purpose to assist the non-profit provider of housing, as well as the grower and the processor.

Several programs exist to allow the creation of migrant housing; specifically, through the Farmer's Home Administration.

As a parallel, several programs were and are available to urban areas for the provision of housing, but yet the State of New York properly was motivated to create the Urban Development Corporation. This agency takes advantage of all existing programs and maximizes their return for the State of New York because of a state-wide administrative framework, made up of capable professionals. This parallel of the urban experience is cited to suggest that existing programs for the living environment of migrants could pay greater dividends if a State-wide administrative framework, with proper staffing, was made available to growers, non-profit and governmental agencies. The grower experiences substantial cost, time and frustration as he deals with governmental agencies in an attempt to secure loans for the creation or the improvement of farm camp housing. Growers desire better housing for migrants because it allows them to better compete with other areas and other states for an adequate supply of skilled hand labor. The grower should be helped in this legitimate desire to improve farm housing by giving him the technical assistance to design, construct and finance better housing.

Most farm camp housing has been financed by the grower through his own bank and on his own credit. The State of New York should assist him in the financing aspects, since the State of New York can borrow at a lower rate and for a longer term.

The grower should also be encouraged to create better housing by allowing him a more rapid rate of farm housing depreciation and, perhaps, more favorable treatment on his State income tax for the annual cost of repairing and maintaining migrant housing.

Farmer's Home Administration

The Farmer's Home Administration, on a national level, is charged with the improvement of the rural and small-town American environment, primarily with respect of housing. Although past national legislation has included substantial funds for FmHA, follow-up appropriation bills and administrative decisions have authorized the expenditure of only one-fifth of the legislated amount. Apart from private financing, however, FmHA remains the Federal agency that provides loans for farm and non-farm rural housing, including self-help housing for "staygrants" and camp housing for migrants. Further, FmHA provides grants, as well as loans, to non-profit organizations and governmental agencies that participate in self-help and migrant housing ventures.

In November of 1969, the Director of FmHA in New York State presented a verbal report to the Governor's Interdepartmental Committee. This report stated that FmHA maintains thirty district offices in New York State, with one hundred twenty-two employees. Within New York in 1968, FmHA expended $39,600,000, 60% of which was for all types of rural housing.

Farmer's Home Administration, then, must be viewed as a major source of assistance in the creation of migrant housing, the potential of which must be greatly increased if greater progress is to be made in improving the State's rural housing in general, and migrant housing in particular.

Within the past year, the N.Y.S. Office for Community Affairs has met with the State FmHA in order to improve communications and increase the availability of FmHA benefits to growers and those organizations dedicated to the improvement of the migrant's living environment.

In July, 1970, Senators Hart and Mondale proposed new legislation for migrant farm workers and their families. This new legislation was proposed because only $28,000,000 had been expended nationally by FmHA between 1965 and 1970 for migrant housing, or less than half of the authorized funds.

The FmHA is a major and valuable program for the improvement of rural housing, but it has been under-funded and understaffed. The Rural Housing Alliance, headquartered in Washington, D. C., has been especially aggressive in proposing the expansion of the funding and services of FmHA.

It must be emphasized again, in summary, that nationally authorized programs, such as FmHA, are only locally effective to the extent that these programs are utilized. The greatest measure of utilization of the FmHA program within New York State will only result if experienced and trained personnel, as part of a state-wide administrative structure, takes advantage of the programs for the benefit of the grower, the processor, non-profit organizations and governmental agencies.

State-Owned Migrant Housing

Although the grower and the processor must be assisted technically and financially to improve their camp housing, this supply of migrant housing has not met the total migrant housing need in the State in the past, nor will it in the future. Further, despite desirability of expanding self-help housing programs, the ex-migrant experiences substandard living conditions as a general rule.

It is proposed that the State of New York, subsequent to proper legislation and the establishment of an administrative structure, participate in housing in the following ways:

1) Have created and own modular housing that can be leased to growers, processors and non-profit entities on a seasonal basis, as needed. Any annual surplus supply of such transportable housing could be leased to construction crews, resort areas, and for the other array of temporary housing needs required by government and business.

2) Existing unused farm labor camps of better quality might be purchased or leased from the present owners and made available to non-profit groups for migrant housing, or for transitional housing for those migrants who are in transition to permanent residency. Such camps could be focal points of child education, remedial health and vocational training, particularly for full-time farm employment.

3) Further investigation may warrant the purchase of active farm labor camps by the State and their lease back to the grower-processor, or some non-profit entity. Better housing for the migrant may be thereby secured, stronger management may result in some cases, and the grower and processor may be relieved of some

of the time and financial burdens of maintaining an excellent quality camp.

4) The State should function as a vehicle to maximize the benefits of all the governmental programs that improve housing and the living environment for migrants, ex-migrants and the much greater number of persons in rural and small-town New York State. Further analysis of such a proposal is required to be sure that benefits could be achieved which would surpass the costs that might be imposed on the citizens of the State.

Modular Housing

A large and growing body of information exists on the use of modular or factory constructed housing. Many companies, large and small, actively are manufacturing and marketing modular units that vary greatly in technology. In the process of developing this report, representatives of five manufacturers were interviewed. In each case, the technology varied one from the other.

It is sufficient here, however, to note that technology exists that should allow durable, transportable housing to be designed and built by many of the existing companies that manufacture housing. Further, the State of New York could achieve the lowest possible cost in purchasing such housing, because of the size of the order it could potentially place with any one manufacturer.

Modular housing, delivered, costs approximately $12 per square foot, excluding site development costs. The extent to which the cost of modular housing could be reduced should be the subject of further inquiry, as should be the design and material specifications that would adapt different modular housing systems to the specific needs of seasonal farm housing.

Mobile homes are, in fact, a type of modular housing and are used as migrant housing in certain parts of the country. Some question the durability of mobile homes for migrant housing use, but a State Agency itself, or through the resources of Cornell University, could develop a cost-benefit analysis of the use of mobile homes. However, this report considers mobile homes to be one type of the genre of modular housing. As such, the State could provide design and material specifications to mobile home manufacturers that would best approximate the recommendations of any cost-benefit study.

Migrant Desires

There is nothing innovative in the common sense suggestions that many migrants give for improvement of their housing and living environment. It will take innovative approaches, however, as this report suggests, to satisfy the reasonable demands of migrants. The migrants desires for housing are very similar to those expressed by any of us. His attitudes include:

a) A desire for more room.
b) Better facilities.
c) Adequate separation of families from "singles".
d) The availability of educational, recreational and health programs for the migrant and his family.

The satisfaction of these desires, however, needs an administrative organization on a state-wide basis innovation and financing. Although many programs of housing alleviation exist, their comprehensive effect is limited. This is attested to by the grower's difficulty in financing his housing, and by the continuation of conditions of housing and life for the migrants that change too slowly.

PART IV

TO HOUSE THE MIGRANT

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. THE STATE OF NEW YORK, THROUGH APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION, SHOULD CREATE A RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

This new entity would be patterned, in part, upon the existing Urban Development Corporation. Under enabling legislation, the Urban Development Corporation has broad powers but its name, its original purpose, and its present program are oriented to the urban circumstance.

The Rural Development Corporation would serve that great majority of the land area and those millions of persons in the State not covered by the programs of the Urban Development Corporation.

The need for a Rural Development Corporation is clearly seen both in the field and in the many reports of inadequate housing and in the stagnation and pollution of the rural environment. The protection and enhancement of our rural human resource and our rural physical resource are clear and worthy goals. These goals also serve to complement the worthy goals established by the State through the Urban Development Corporation for the urban environment.

The need can also be seen in the inability of many rural communities to secure competent, professional assistance in the process of analyzing problems and in taking advantage of opportunities.

A Rural Development Corporation would have two primary functions. The Corporation would coordinate for rural areas the plethora of programs of all kinds presently offered by many State and Federal agencies. This coordination function would include making localities, non-profit groups and private parties aware of the availability of current State and Federal program aids. A Rural Development Corporation, through its staff, could render technical assistance in securing the benefits of existing State and Federal programs.

The other major function of the Rural Development Corporation would be to serve as an action agency, on its own, or in conjunction with one or more of the local or State-wide entities in creating housing, employment, and other appropriate rural projects and programs deemed necessary to realize a better life for the rural and small town areas of New York State.

A Rural Development Corporation would be governed by a Board of Directors appointed by the Governor. The membership of the Board should represent the broad spectrum of interest existent in rural New York and concerned about rural New York.

The president of the Corporation would serve in a full-time capacity and, as such, would be the chief executive of the program and its staff. The professional staff would represent the many disciplines that are commonly active in the rural and small town environment, including planners, agricultural professions, sociologists, economists, architects, landscape architects, political scientists, lawyers, and those other professionals who are both directly and indirectly involved.

More specifically, a Rural Development Corporation could:

a. assist growers in financing migrant housing through the Farmers Home Administration, Small Business Administration and other available sources.

b. provide technical assistance and guidance to self-help housing groups and non-profit sponsors of low and moderate income rural housing.

c. spearhead a program of developing "model rural communities" to complement the national program of "Model Cities."

d. initiate, on a local level, training seminars on administration for elected and appointed officials.

e. sponsor a broad and imaginative program of rural development emphasizing the best and avoiding the worst of the well known urban renewal programs. This program would feature the elimination of blight, the rehabilitation of basically sound housing, the creation of new housing as well as the establishment of a public support system of pollution control, drainage, utilities, roads and related facilities.

f. develop joint ventures with local governments, agencies of local governments and non-profit organizations to plan and develop specific housing, economic development and environmental improvement projects.

A Rural Development Corporation could be funded in the following ways:

a. grants from Federal agencies such as the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Farmers Home Administration.

b. revenue bonds supported by project activity of the Corporation.

c. contracts for services rendered from public and private entities.

d. appropriations by the State legislature.

A Rural Development Corporation for the State of New York, therefore, would be comprehensive in purpose and function. It would coordinate existing programs, not duplicate them, and strive to make available resources more effectively applied to our rural environment. Where appropriate, a Rural Development Corporation would, by itself or in concert with others, but always in cooperation with a locality, develop those projects and programs deemed necessary to protect, correct and improve the human and physical circumstances of our rural communities.

2. A LONG-TERM, ORGANIZED EFFORT SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN TO DEVELOP NON-MIGRATORY SOURCES OF FARM LABOR.

Because of the diminishing supply of migratory farm labor potentially available to New York State growers, it is recommended that the State Department of Labor continue to investigate the potential supply of farm labor that could be considered broadly a resident farm labor source. The investigation by the State Department of Labor should include an inquiry into the size of the potential supply, its availability, wage levels, training requirements and organizational plus administrative needs. Yet another aspect of using a non-migratory farm labor source to be investigated would be the transport of such workers to the point of need.

The burden of providing housing for farm labor would decrease to the extent that a resident labor force becomes more available to the grower than is presently true. Although the need for migratory farm labor will likely continue indefinitely, the need for additional migratory farm labor housing in the long-term will be alleviated by increasing mechanization, the decrease in the supply of migratory farm labor and the potential, although undeveloped, for some resident labor source.

Sources of non-migratory labor could include students, the unemployed, the underemployed and prison labor. Perhaps the best potential source of local seasonal labor would be family members of the growing number of "staygrants", those who have dropped the migratory life and whose family head often secures non-agricultural work. At the present time, of course, such sources can not be considered as primary reservoirs of capable and reliable farm labor. However, the potential need in terms of numbers is not large, only a few thousand persons at most.

3. AN EXISTING STATE AGENCY OR A RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION SHOULD PROVIDE LONG-TERM, LOW INTEREST LOANS TO GROWERS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF HOUSING AND RELATED CAMP FACILITIES.

Although a loan program is presently available through the Farmer's Home Administration, this fund source has been inadequately used for many reasons. Representatives of the N.Y.S. Office for Community Affairs, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Farmer's Home Administration are jointly discussing the greater use of loan funds from FHA for migrant housing. However, it is recommended that a State agency be empowered to work directly with the grower to secure loan funds for him from existing programs such as that offered by FHA. The appropriate State agency, given this assignment, should also investigate the potential need for additional loan sources for growers to create adequate housing and housing environments.

4. A STATE AGENCY OR A STATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION SHOULD GIVE TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING HOUSING FOR SEASONAL FARM LABOR.

The non-profit organizations are, and will continue to be, of two kinds; those that create and maintain migrant housing for a grower or growers working cooperatively, and those non-profit entities that could create housing through direct dealing with the migrant himself.

Non-profit groups, especially those that are local in nature, have limited technical assistance available to them and they also have limited sources of funds to create a revolving fund for land and other start-up costs.

Despite the existence of programs to provide loans to such non-profit organizations, the actual availability of such loans is greatly restricted and there is an obvious need for a State agency to increase the availability of such existing funds to non-profit groups. A State agency should also provide additional revolving loan funds to legitimate non-profit efforts.

5. AN EXISTING STATE AGENCY OR A STATE RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION SHOULD OWN TRANSPORTABLE MIGRANT HOUSING UNITS THAT WOULD BE LEASED TO GROWERS ON AN ANNUAL BASIS IN A NUMBER, KIND AND LOCATION AS REQUIRED BY THE GROWER.

A substantial number of growers have a need for migrant labor that varies in number from year to year. This variance can be based upon weather, conditions of the market, increasing mechanization, and the relationship in any grower's camp of his need for migrant housing relative to the number of migrant housing units he has had approved by the State Board of Health.

Long-term factors such as mechanization, evolving State and Federal housing requirements (codes), inflationary housing costs and shrinking supply of seasonal farm labor, together with short-term factors mentioned above, may encourage an increasing number of growers to want a leased housing program, if a reasonable and reliable program were in existence.

Cornell University could serve as a resource in developing the necessary technology and the environmental support system required for such housing; that is, water sewer, recreation, and related needs. These housing units should be durable, and transportable by truck. They would be designed, built and owned for an appropriate State agency. They would be maintained by the grower for the term of the lease, be it one season or more.

A design criteria should be the adaptability of the transportable housing unit for non-migrant uses, for that part of the year or for those seasons when the units are not fully needed for seasonal farm labor. (See next recommendation).

6. A STATE AGENCY SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE TO INTERESTED GROWERS FOR THE USE OF MIGRANT HOUSING AND CAMPS FOR NON SEASONAL LABOR USE DURING THAT PART OF THE YEAR AND FOR THOSE YEARS WHEN THE HOUSING AND THE CAMPS ARE NOT FULLY NEEDED BY THE GROWER TO HOUSE MIGRANTS.

More productive use by the grower of his migrant housing will encourage him to maintain, through additional income, better housing and to keep that housing in better condition. Some growers in New York State and in other states do utilize migrant housing units, for other than housing migrants, for that part of the year when the housing is not occupied by migrants.

Such non-migrant uses include:

a. machinery storage
b. crop storage
c. rental to fishermen, hunters and skiers
d. rental to construction crews
e. seedling nurseries and greenhouses

Obviously, the list above is a varied one and most or all of existing migrant housing could not presently be used for some of the suggestions. However, some growers build migrant housing with removable partitions so that the basic structure can serve other "off season" uses. The list of "off season" uses given above is simply to suggest that there are ways to enhance the use of, and hence income from, migrant housing. Additional income sources for migrant housing could obviously be of benefit to some growers and could be of assistance to the migrant through the encouragement of better housing.

7. SOME SMALL GROWERS SHOULD ACT COOPERATIVELY IN CREATING MIGRANT HOUSING THROUGH THE TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE OF A STATE AGENCY.

Cooperative arrangements presently existing between growers in New York State, and others are in the process of being formed. Although the food processors and the large growers are best able to provide an adequate supply of migrant housing, the small growers have the greatest difficulty in financing and maintaining the level of migrant housing required to ensure them of a good supply of seasonal labor, as well as in meeting State health requirements. These small growers should be encouraged to investigate the benefits and the disadvantages of cooperative housing, and the State should provide that level of assistance necessary to assist the small growers in this regard. Past experience in this type of housing is mixed, but with technical and financial assistance, a greater measure of success might be had by some growers.

8. THE STATE OF NEW YORK, THROUGH AN APPROPRIATE AGENCY, SHOULD INVESTIGATE THE POTENTIAL LEASING AND PURCHASING OF FARM LABOR CAMPS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE MIGRANT HOUSING FOR THOSE NOT SERVED BY GROWERS AND PROCESSORS AND IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A CENTRAL TRANSITIONAL HOUSING RESOURCE FOR MIGRANTS IN TRANSITION INTO PERMANENT RESIDENCY.

Because mechanization is replacing some migrant labor, providing vacancies in certain camps, and because some camps are inoperative because the owner is unable or unwilling to meet stricter codes, an analysis should be undertaken, difficult though it may be, to probe the potential leasing or purchase of some camps for use by migrants and ex-migrants. The State could lease or sub-lease such facilities before or after rehabilitation of the camps to CAP agencies, to non-profit groups, and to other appropriate and willing organizations.

FOOTNOTES

Footnote Number	Page Number	Biographic Reference
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2	22	# 2 - Federal Publications: Termination of The Bracero Program (some effects on farm labor and migrant housing needs), Agricultural Economic Report No. 77, Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., June, 1965, 22 pp.
3	22	# 2 - Federal Publications: Termination of The Bracero Program (some effects on farm labor and migrant housing needs), Agricultural Economic Report No. 77, Economic Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., June 1965, 22 pp.
1	54	# 8 - State Publications: Farm Labor Annual Report, New York State Employment Service, Central Labor Office, Rochester, 1968, 30 pp. & Appendix

Footnote Number	Page Number	Biographic Reference
2	55	#8 - State Publications: Farm Labor Annual Report, New York State Employment Service, Central Labor Office, Rochester, 1969, 46 pp. & Appendix; pp. 2 - 4
3	57	#8 - State Publications: Farm Labor Annual Report, New York State Employment Service, Central Labor Office, Rochester, 1968, 30 pp. & Appendix
1	60	#10 - Magazine Articles: "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis", Roger Beardwood, Fortune Magazine, August, 1968, pp. 80 - 87
2	61	#11 - Magazine Articles: "The Looming Money Revolution Down South", Richard Armstrong, Fortune Magazine, June, 1970, pp. 66 - 69
1	63	#7 - Miscellaneous: Geography of New York State, John H. Thompson, Editor, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1966, 543 pp.; p. 202
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STATE BOARD OF HEALTH REPORT

APPENDIX A

SPECIAL SURVEY OF FARM LABOR CAMPS (1968)

STATE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

FARM LABOR CAMP
SUMMARY OF HOUSING FACILITIES

1. Age of Camp

	Number	Percent
Camps built within past		
a) 5 years	54	30.2
b) Since 1959	24	13.4
c) 10 years	32	17.9
d) 15 years	30	16.7
e) 20 years	15	8.4

2. Housing

A. Rooms: (40 sq. ft./person for a single bed; 30 sq. ft./person for a double bed)

	Number	Percent
1. Sleeping rooms (no cooking) with area:		
<40 SF	0	0
41-50	2	0.2
51-100	222	29.6
101-150	329	36.4
151-200	226	25.0
>200	124	13.7
2. Sleeping rooms (and cooking) with area: (60 sq. ft. extra/person for eating)		
<120 SF	83	24.8
121-180	120	35.8
181-300	98	29.1
301-600	33	9.7
>600	2	0.6
3. Dormitories with area:		
<120 SF	17	8.2
121-180	14	6.8
181-300	58	28.0
301-600	84	40.6
>600	34	16.4

B. Fire Resistant Construction	Number	Percent
1. Camps housing 15 or more persons with fire resistant construction (required) (96/109)	96	88.0
2. Camps housing less than 15 persons with fire resistant construction (not required) (20/49)	20	40.8

3. Kitchen Facilities

	Number	Percent
A. Type of cooking		
1. Camps with cooking in individual units	65	36.2
2. Camps with cooking in central kitchens	68	38.0
3. Camps with communal cooking	46	25.6
4. Camps with a commissary	43	24.0
B. Mechanical refrigeration		
1. Camps with adequate mechanical refrigeration in individual units (64/65)	64	98.4
2. Camps with adequate mechanical refrigeration in central kitchen (111/114)	111	97.5
C. Camps with satisfactory dishwashing facilities (hot and cold running water at sink)	109	61.1

4. Water Supply

	Number	Percent
A. Quality and quantity		
1. Camps with water supply of unsatisfactory sanitary quality	0	0
2. Camps with water supply of inadequate quantity (19 gal./day/occupant)	4	2.2
B. Distribution Method		
1. Camps with hand pumps	1	0.6
2. Camps with water under pressure	50	27.9
3. Camps with cold water under pressure in kitchen	15	8.4
4. Camps with hot and cold water under pressure in kitchen	92	51.4
5. Camps with cold water under pressure in individual units	5	2.8
6. Camps with hot and cold water under pressure in individual units	17	9.5

5. Bathroom and Bathing

A. Bathroom facilities	Number	Percent
1. Camps with privies	129	71.1
a. Camps with privies having adequate number of seats according to Part 15 (119/129)	119	92.2
*b. Camps with privies having adequate number of seats according to U.S. Dept. of Labor (113/129)	113	87.6
2. Camps with flush toilets	50	27.9
a. Camps with flush toilets having an adequate number of seats according to Part 15 (42/50)	42	84.0
*b Camps with flush toilets having an adequate number of seats according to U.S. Department of labor (28/50)	28	56.0

B. Bathing Facilities		
1. Camps with showers and bathtubs having an adequate number of showerheads or bathbubs according to Part 15 (1 for each 20 occupants) (149/174)	149	85.7
2. Camps with showers only	156	87.1
*3. Camps with showers having an adequate number of showerheads according to U.S. Department of Labor (121/156)	121	77.6

6. Other

A. Camps with improper waste water disposal	5	2.8
B. Camps with unsatisfactory sewage disposal system	1	2.0
C. Camps with improper shower waste water disposal (11/174)	11	6.3
D. Camps with inadequate lighting in sleeping quarters	4	2.2
E. Camps with inadequate lighting in privy	76	42.4
F. Camps with inadequate ventilation in sleeping quarters	0	0
G. Camps with unsatisfactory screening	14	7.8
H. Camps with unsatisfactory surface drainage	26	14.5
I. Camps with inadequate containers for garbage and refuse	27	15.1
J. Camps with improperly installed or unvented heaters	4	2.2
K. Camps with improperly installed cook stoves	0	0
L. Camps with unapproved fire exits	2	1.1
M. Camps open after September 15 without heating facilities	32	17.9
N. Camps where kitchen is separate from sleeping quarters	115	64.3
O. Camps with separate sleeping area for children (31/114)	31	27.2

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*These requirements are stated in the "Housing Regulations of the U.S. Department of Labor for Out-of-State Agricultural, Woods, and Related Industry Workers Recruited Through State Employment Service". These regulations now require one privy seat or one flush toilet per 15 occupants, and 1 showerhead per 15 occupants. However, these regulations are currently being revised, and the standards may change.

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTANT SURVEY STATISTICS

FACT: The results of the survey show that 30.2 percent of the camps have been built within the past five years.

DISCUSSION: This would indicate that the farmers are providing better housing for migrants. I think this is because of the Health Department's increased efforts on the Farm Labor Camp program in certain areas and increased social pressures being brought to bear on them.

FACT: Of all the camps surveyed, only 2.2 percent had water not of a safe sanitary quality.

DISCUSSION: These water supplies only needed disinfecting in order to be used.

FACT: Only 88 percent of the camps housing 15 or more persons had the required fire resistant construction.

DISCUSSION: I think this indicates that there should be more enforcement on this regulation. When old buildings such as farm houses and barns are made fire resistant according to the code, they are turned into almost airtight ovens in some cases. If a fire were to break out in one of these structures, the occupants might die from the heat that would be held in, rather than by the fire itself. I feel that in these instances, the present requirement may actually do more harm than good.

FACT: Privies were used in 72.1 percent of the camps surveyed. 92.2 percent of all camps had an adequate number of privy seats by the standards of Part 15, while by the U.S. Department of Labor Standards, only 87.6 percent had an adequate number of seats. The difference appears because the present Labor Department Code requires a ratio of one seat for 15 occupants, instead of the one seat to twenty occupants required by the State.

DISCUSSION: Farmers and health inspectors feel that the migrants don't know how to use flush toilets properly and often abuse them. Until I went to Suffolk County, I might have thought that this was true; however, in Suffolk County, there is a county law against privies. Privies are only allowed by direct written permission of the health officer, and he won't give it for farm labor camps.

Every camp I went to in Suffolk County had flush toilets, and in the entire area, I found only one toilet that was plugged up, and this was not because of abuse. I think that if flush toilets were provided in place of privies, at the beginning there might be a few cloggings here and there, but it wouldn't take the migrants very long to realize that flush toilets are a lot better than privies, and nicer to use.

I went into a couple of camps that I can think of right off, and the migrants in the camps asked me if it were possible for me to do anything to get the privies supplied with flush toilets. It seems to me that if these people are asking for a facility, they certainly wouldn't abuse it if they got it. Of course, there are always a few people who will abuse anything, and it really doesn't matter whether they destroy the privies provided or they clog the flush toilets provided.

FACT: Of the camps surveyed, 87.1 percent had showers which are required by the U.S. Department of Labor Code. Of these, 77.6 percent of the camps had an adequate number of showerheads by the present Department of Labor Code. Again, this is simply because the Department of Labor requires one head for each 15 occupants, while Part 15 requires one head for each twenty occupants. New York State allows the use of bathtubs for bathing purposes, while the Labor Department does not. Therefore, 12.9 percent of the camps which have only bathtubs would not meet the requirements of the Federal Code, although they would meet the New York State requirements.

DISCUSSION: I feel that we should not allow bathtubs either. The migrants, especially colored people, won't use bathtubs. They will use a small pan in their room before they will use a bathtub, and I think that with showers more people will bathe more often.

FACT: Cooking in individual units is done in 36.2 percent of the camps surveyed. In rooms used for both sleeping and cooking purposes, a total of 24.7 percent had a floor area of under 120 square feet.

DISCUSSION: According to the proposed new Code, a minimum of fifty square feet for each migrant is needed for sleeping purposes and an additional ten square feet for cooking and eating. This would come to a minimum of 120 feet for two migrants. Therefore, only one migrant will be allowed to stay in these rooms with under 120 square feet of area. The capacity of rooms of this kind will be reduced state-wide by approximately 12 percent. This may or may not be a problem. I found that many camps, for the most part, had a lesser number of people in them than the rated capacity.

FACT: I found that 75.3 percent of the sleeping rooms in the camps were without cooking facilities. These included both dormitories, where four or more migrants slept, and individual rooms with two or three migrants in them.

DISCUSSION: This reflects a growing trend, especially in the newer buildings, of central kitchens as opposed to cooking in individual units. Also, many of the new camps, especially the larger ones, are going to cooks in the central kitchen instead of letting the migrants themselves cook. I think this is more desirable, in that the people eat better, and the kitchens are usually kept a lot cleaner with a single cook involved, than when the migrants themselves cook.

FACT: 61 percent of the camps surveyed had acceptable dishwashing facilities.

DISCUSSION: This low figure is due to the fact that only those camps with hot and cold running water in or near the kitchens, were considered to have satisfactory dishwashing facilities. The largest number of violations were in units with individual kitchens where only 9.5 percent had hot and cold water available for dishwashing facilities.

FACT: In camps where kitchens in individual units were provided, 72 percent of the kitchens were separated either by partitions or walls from the sleeping areas.

DISCUSSION: Those kitchens that weren't separated were chiefly smaller units of one or two migrants, and the cooking facilities consisted of one or two propane gas burners installed in the wall of the building. These weren't complete kitchens as such.

FACT: Only 27.2 percent of the camps had separate sleeping areas for children as required by the U. S. Department of Labor standards.

DISCUSSION: I think that this requirement should be divided into two parts. The first case would be for families with children two years old and up. These children should be provided with separate sleeping areas from the parents, if for no other reason than that of morals, because it is not really proper to have the older children living in the same room with the parents. The second case would be, those families with children under two years old. In this case, there should be separate beds provided for the children and the parents. I went into camps, where during the day, I found one or two small babies under a year old asleep on the single double bed in the room. It would appear that at night when the parents are in the bed, that the baby would have to sleep on the floor, and this certainly is not desirable.

FACT: 42.6 percent of the camps surveyed had inadequate lighting in the privies.

DISCUSSION: For the purpose of this survey, a camp was considered to have inadequate lighting if there was no electrical outlet provided in the privy. The problem could be alleviated simply by running electrical wires from the camp proper to the privy unit. I think that it would be better to provide the electrical outlet and the lighting outside the privy, using spotlights, rather than bulbs inside, as I feel that the migrants tend to steal light bulbs as quickly as they are installed.